

The American Catholic Sociological Review

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The American Catholic Sociological Review

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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Shall We Have an Atomic or Organic Age?*

ALPHONSE H. CLEMENS

THIS paper is both an arrival and a departure. It bespeaks a degree of maturity consequent upon a year of office; at once it also attempts to paint the way to a new life and vigor for the Society. In offering this modest appraisal, I am not unmindful of the fact that retrospect often exceeds prospect. Were this not true, my modest efforts during the past year would have perhaps matured into a greater effectiveness for the Society's welfare.

Yet despite an occasional ineffective administration, the American Catholic Sociological Society may well at this juncture pause for a brief period of satisfaction before enlarging its competency and achievement. It is a short eight years since a mere handful of Catholic sociologists, fired by the organizing zeal of Father Gallagher, formulated plans for the Society. The expansion of sociological disciplines in our schools imposed upon Catholic teachers in varied fields — philosophy, law, theology, history — the tasks of the sociology classroom. Despite the absence of a clearly ascertainable professional mentality, this society of Catholic sociologists flourished and matured. From a mere membership pittance it has grown to proportions of several hundreds. Although scarcely beyond its adolescence, and despite a serious financial and disciplinary handicap, the ACSS ventured a journal. It should be a matter of profound satisfaction to realize that after some six years this venture enjoys a subscription list of some 600, a not insignificant accomplishment when older and more affluent journals scarcely exceed the 1,000 mark.

To evaluate the success of the Society in terms of quantitative analysis only would bespeak an un-Catholic mentality. The qualitative aspects of our growth is, however, no less impressive. The recent survey conducted by Clement Mihanovich evidences the growth of a definite professionalization in our midst, even though Sr. M. Liguori's valiant attempt to ferret out the precise extent of this professionalization brought disappointing results. Similarly, we can

* Presidential address given at the eighth annual convention of the American Catholic Sociological Society, December 27, 1946, Chicago 11, Illinois.

detect a growing sociological competency in the type of articles now being submitted to the REVIEW, as well as in the continuously enhanced quality of book and periodical reviews and the other expanded sections. It would seem that the true norm of the Society's adequacy is to be taken from its *raison de etre*, viz., the extent to which its members have effected a synthesis of sociology with Christ's social philosophy. Rather than heap coals of disparagement upon our efforts for not having been adequately empirical (and we have not been), I would rejoice in the dominant synthesis of social philosophy with fact finding which has characterized much of our research in recent years, as evidenced by the books published as well as by the theses and dissertations emerging from our institutions. In view of the financial and scholastic handicaps under which most of us labor, our efforts have not been inconsequential. Every book, we are all aware, published by a Catholic sociologist has been stolen from the rightfully deserved leisure of a burdened and tired pedagogue.

This amazing growth and success of the Society would not be understandable except for the dynamic, tireless energies and adroit organizational genius of its founder, first president and continuing executive secretary. The intimate relationship between his office and mine during the past year, has merely served to enhance my appreciation of Father Gallagher's ability and worth to the Society. His fine and clear perception of the respective jurisdictions of the two offices, has obviated any least friction. On the other hand, he stood ever ready to assume tasks — arduous and disagreeable — which were referred to him because of his superior information or experience, or perhaps because of my own preoccupation with other pressing duties. It is my belief that the Society at large shares these convictions and will continue to entrust its day-to-day destiny in his hands.

It is, of course, well to pause and take an inventory of the Society's progress especially on this threshold of a new year and a new administration. Yet the danger lies lurking that such retrospect, particularly if it carry a pleasant demeanor, lull us into a false sense of complacency. However praiseworthy the toils of the past, the tasks of the future are both herculean and awe-inspiring. We are living in an age conscious of its own destruction — fabricated by two potentials, the combined annihilating force of which is inescapable — I refer to an atomic society and an atomic bomb. Science has placed into a social structure, immature with childish egoism, a

weapon which even an emotionally and structurally stable society should handle with circumspection. To complement the disastrous cultural lag at this crucial point in history, by rendering an atomic age — organic — is the awful challenge to sociologists presently. Dr. Howard W. Odum has stated it pithily: "In the present contemporary scene, sociology has its greatest opportunity up till now."¹ As Catholics we sociologists are aware that the plethora of empirical investigation (excelling any previous period in history) cannot be the answer. We are equally conscious that the supernatural aids of the Liturgy alone, will not affect the required social transformation. Against the dual atomism of the age must be posited (and that in quick order) the dual organicism of the Liturgy and of sociology. Our first task is to hasten the integration of these two into a pattern of social salvation.

In the pursuit of this goal, however, pure sociology as distinguished from applied sociology will not suffice. Pure sociology with its undeniably effective contributions is, at best, a slow, cumbersome and time consuming area of human knowledge. Yet time, in the present critical juncture, is of the very essence. It remains for applied sociology to clutch David-like, the sociological sling and slay the twentieth century Goliath, lest his dual atomic weapon slay civilization. Before some in our midst accept this challenge, the much discussed domain of sociology intrudes itself. To such I would suggest that whatever may or may not be posited in the abstract as an academic definition, the realistic fact remains inescapable, that sociologists *en masse* do concern themselves very extensively with applying their principles to concrete problems and even proffer therapeutic and curative measures. The wealth of sociological literature constantly pouring from our press, is perpetual evidence of the validity of that statement. To us Catholic sociologists devolves the question: "Shall we leave the steering of society's critical course in the hands of those who have thrown away the compass of social philosophy and have taken down the propelling sails of the Liturgy?" Let us be realists when being anything else in an atomic age spells complete shipwreck!

Yet learned contributions of pedantic scholars too often serve little purpose other than to litter the dust-ridden archives of libraries with accustomed grace. Effective we would have our research become; and yet I make bold to say that it will not become effective

¹ *Am. Soc. Rev.*, June 1946, 11(3): 357.

until we have ourselves carried it into the field of action. *The acuteness of the social rupture disclaims the effectiveness of swivel-chair sociology.* We stand in need of scholarly Luigi Sturzo's; but we stand in need equally of active Luigi Sturzo's. Such venture into the practical arena would enable the sociologist to bring to the classroom the unique knowledge accruing from experience.

Before venturing into the arena of social action, it behooves us to clarify our role as contributors to human knowledge and the solution of social problems. Philip M. Hauser of the Bureau of the Census has written: "Much has been said or written by social scientists, philosophers of science and others to explain the disparities in the roles of the natural and the social sciences in human affairs. Whatever the reason may be, we might well at this juncture be impressed with two outstanding facts: First, that the social sciences have provided more knowledge and understanding about our social, political and economic life than society has actually used; second, that the social sciences have not produced enough."² This observation we can hear Dr. Alexis Carrel anticipate when ten years earlier he stated: "We now possess such a large amount of information on human beings that its very immensity prevents us from using it properly. In order to be of service, our knowledge must be synthetic and concise."³ In his further elaborations Carrel continues: "In philosophy, hygiene and medicine as well as in the study of education and of political and social economy, scientists have been chiefly absorbed by organic, humoral, and intellectual aspects of man. They have not paid any great attention to his affective and moral form, his inner life, his character, his esthetic and religious needs, the common substratum of organic and psychological activities, the intimate relations of the individual and of his mental and spiritual environment. A radical change is indispensable. This change requires both the work of specialists devoting their efforts to the particular knowledge related to our body and our mind, and of scientists capable of integrating the discoveries of the specialists in function of man as a whole."⁴ Again he says speaking of specialists: "Without them, science could not progress. But before the result of their researches is applied to man, the scattered data of their analysis must be integrated in an intelligible synthesis."⁵

² "Are the Social Sciences Ready?" *Am. Soc. Rev.*, August 1946, 11(4): 379.

³ *Man the Unknown*, Preface p. xii; Harper, 1935.

⁴ *Man the Unknown*, *op. cit.*, p. 43. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Now, I submit that despite the objections of purists in sociology here lies one of our most effective roles — one of our greatest contributions to social salvation. Again, a realistic appraisal of what sociologists are doing (and by implication believe their proper share) indicates an unmistakable role as synthesizers of the scattered skeins of scientific findings. Virtually every book on applied sociology, social pathology or social problems precisely tries to bring to a focus upon any one or more problems, the contributions made by the biologist, psychiatrist, psychologist, juridical expert, political scientist, economist and in the case of us Catholic sociologists, the contributions of social philosophy and even theology. Rather than disclaim this role, to my way of thinking, we should welcome the rather unique and important responsibility of synthesizing the otherwise largely unrelated data and bringing it to a focus on our current dilemma. In fact, it would seem that it is just in these areas where synthesis occurs (as in bio-chemistry) that I suspect we have been unduly deterred from admitting this actual and prospective function, by a sense of inferiority heaped upon such an attempt by an age crazed with specialization. I further suspect that we cringe intellectually (as we have indeed academically) before the onrush of innocent but sociologically illiterate banterers. About a year ago I heard Professor Kerwin of the University of Chicago amuse a portion of his audience and chagrin the better informed by referring to sociology as something mindful of "the broad back of a hippopotamus." His is an all-too-common mistake which identifies comprehensiveness with disunity. The fact remains that sociology can be very encompassing and yet not issue into a "hodge-podge," it can effect a much needed unity and correlation and synthesis of previously scattered and isolated scientific phenomena.

Intimately associated with this synthesizing function of the sociologist is the Catholic social action function. Again the sociological purist interposes the trite reminder that Catholic action even when it is "social action" is not the direct responsibility of the sociologist. But again I would hasten away from any academic controversy on the refinements of sociological jurisdiction. Again I would remain the realist faced with a very acute and practical problem and eager to find its solution. While most of us agree that theoretically sociology can be divorced as a science from Catholic social action, it does in practice deal extensively with just that in its applied aspects. Here we are faced with a fact of which we are rendered acutely conscious by our students. The Catholic student who comes to our

schools evidencing an unquenchable desire for perfecting his knowledge and participation in Catholic action, invariably selects sociology as his major. And why? Is it not a tacit admission on our part in accepting him that sociology as it is conceived and taught, viz., as a synthesizing science — will afford him what he desires? And if we refuse to admit this synthesizing role as ours, where can such a student find the Church's over-all plan for social reconstruction in all its aspects, liturgical, philosophic, economic, juridical educational and otherwise? We can only send him into isolated, scattered courses with the futile hope that there will be no significant gaps in his knowledge and the further hope that he will make the difficult synthesis between the isolated courses the while we rest content with giving him the simpler tasks in each respective discipline.

If you will indulge me further, I would, to the above broad outlines, apply a few specific and detailed suggestions. Since "hindsight is too often better than foresight," I would not end my tenure without an attempted stimulation to action in directions which might have come earlier. Perhaps these suggestions may serve to compensate in some measure for the defects of the year's administration.

Firstly, I would suggest the formation of a committee to ascertain, if possible, an acceptable delimitation of the field of sociology as an academic division during the coming year, the same to be discussed at the next year's convention. This is a reversal of my position as posited previously before this Society.⁶ Despite the obvious difficulties involved, this suggestion is urged for very practical reasons. A delimitation of the scope of sociology would serve to facilitate curricula building with its over-lapping duplications. It would serve to clarify the precise topics which are fit ones for sociological theses and dissertations. It would further aid in the perplexing problem of integrating social philosophy with certain courses in sociology and might obviate the constant danger of Catholic sociologists becoming exclusively empirical and positivistic or exclusively social philosophers.

Secondly, though we enjoy generally no administrative responsibilities, it would seem that we might use whatever weight we possess in our respective institutions, to have sociology become a required subject. Its high cultural content is obvious to us; its usefulness in rendering students more effective in Catholic social action is equally obvious. Perhaps the above committee could also suggest what

⁶ *The Catholic Sociologist Faces a New Social Order*, ACSR, October 1946, 4(3):158-165.

might be done on even the primary and secondary levels to educate students in social problems.

Thirdly, student reaction of the past impels the suggestion that as teachers of sociology and social problems, we ever remain mindful that inspiration is as significant as information and that in a science such as sociology there is much that can be "caught" as well as "taught." I have seen all too many students of Catholic schools in the past several years approach graduation conscious that they had never "caught" the enthusiasm for social reconstruction, or, if you will, the urge to social reform.

Fourthly, it is imperative that we hasten to develop those fields and employ those techniques until now pre-empted by secular sociologists. Though a cautious delay has merits, it also can become disastrous. The field of marriage relationships and industrial sociology, for instance, await our application. While techniques such as marriage clinics would not only serve to guard Catholics against the predatory advice offered by such secular agencies but would afford research data into married lives of Catholics which would prove invaluable. Nor can the Cana Conference, so sociological in its treatment of the family, long continue to receive the neglect of our sociologists.

Fifthly, we need Catholic sociologists in both the national and international governmental setup. Catholics are in no apt proportion on government agencies. Will the newly created Legislative Council of the U. S. Congress and the projected National Institute for Scientific Research find a Catholic sociologist on their staffs?

Sixthly, there is a growing tendency toward the socialization of both law and juridical technique. The sociology of law awaits an intrepid pioneer in our midst, while the socialization of courts should not proceed apace without some of our experts in sociology advising judges and lawyers. Timasheff has pointed to this relationship when he wrote: "Since sociology is the science of human relations and jurisprudence is the scientific inquiry into the . . . order of human relations, a close connection between the two could be expected. Also there is none. Could not sociology use concrete cases studied by the lawyers and jurists to give flesh and blood to the rather anemic and nebulous concepts with which it is commonly operating?"⁷ Not only need we give more attention to the sociology of law but also to social legislation which is rarely found in our

⁷ "The Sociologist's Contribution to the Law," *Virg. Law Rev.*, 32(4): 818-19.

curricula. The Popes have repeatedly urged "juridical reform" side by side with economic and social reform. Here is an entire field for study and action being taken over by the Justice Holmes, the Jerome Franks and Thurman Arnolds.

Seventhly, we still await a flourishing confirmation of the encyclical principles by empirical data and research. It is the hope of a few in our midst that the development of industrial sociology will afford a rich mine for such data. Particularly significant seems the need to develop concepts of vocational grouping along empirical lines. We can with futility hope to have this plan accepted by a pragmatic society on the basis of principle alone.

Finally, we might well concern ourselves with an elaboration of the intimate relation between the Liturgy and sociology. By lip service we admit that as a force shaping society the Liturgy is unparalleled. But there is a deplorable dearth of investigation into this relationship or even into the technique of applying the Liturgy to social life. Mrs. Franz Mueller has pioneered into the family circle. Will some of us in the near future trace the Liturgy into the factory, for instance, and relate the official blessings of the Church for vehicles, farms, cattle, crops and the Ember Days (intended to assure blessings upon the season's productivity) into a Liturgy for industrial relations? Only in this fashion can we hope to know the integration of the various societies themselves; only in this way can we hope to learn their integration with God.

Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

Race Relations -- As Seen by a Catholic

DANIEL M. CANTWELL

INTRODUCTION: *The following outline is intended to provide those studying interracial problems, or those giving or taking courses in the subject, with a Catholic perspective from which to view race relations. The outline is an attempt to state the basic moral questions, as seen by a Catholic, in the relations between racial groups.*

Two fundamental truths:

I. The essential unity of all men:

There is one race, the human race.

II. The essential equality of all men:

Every human being has received with equal bounty equal human rights.

I. The unity of all men.

A. *Natural unity:*

1. Every man's soul has the same spiritual origin, having been created by the same God.

2. Every man's body has the same physical origin in Adam and Eve.

3. All men have this earth as a common dwelling place and have the natural right to share its resources to sustain and develop life.

4. All men are interdependent economically, socially, and politically.

"The first of these pernicious errors, widespread today is the forgetfulness of that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong. . . . A marvelous vision, which makes us see the human race in the unity of one common origin in God, 'one God and Father of all, Who is above all, and through all, and in us all'; in the unity of nature which in every man is equally composed of material body and spiritual, immortal soul; in the unity of dwelling place, the earth, of whose resources all men can by natural right avail themselves, to sustain and develop life; in the unity of the supernatural end, God Himself, to Whom all should tend; in the unity of means to secure that end." — Pius XII, *On the Function of the State in the Modern World* (*Summi Pontificatus*), Paulist Press ed., p. 11.

B. Supernatural unity:

1. All men have the common supernatural destiny — the same Heaven, in which men are to see our Father as He is, to know and love Him and all His creatures as He does.

2. All men without exception are redeemed by Christ and embraced in His love for His Father.

“God so loved the world as to give His only-begotten Son”; and the Word of the Eternal Father through this same divine love assumed human nature from the race of Adam... so that He might be the source whence the grace of the Holy Spirit should flow into all the children of the first parent.” — Pius XII, *The Mystical Body of Christ*, 1943, N.C.W.C. ed., p. 10.

“Men may be separated by nationality and race, but our Savior poured out His blood to reconcile all men to God through the Cross and bid them all unite in one Body. Genuine love of the Church, therefore, is not satisfied with our being within this Body members of one another, mutually careful one for another, rejoicing with him who glories, suffering with him who suffers; we must also recognize as brothers of Christ according to the flesh, destined together with us to eternal salvation, those others who have not yet joined us in the Body of the Church.” — Pius XII, *The Mystical Body of Christ*, p. 60.

3. All men are embraced in the love which binds us to God.

“How can we claim to love the divine Redeemer, if we hate those whom He has redeemed with His precious blood, so that He might make them members of His Mystical Body? For that reason the beloved disciple warns us: ‘If any man say: “I love God,” and hateth his brother, he is a liar. For he that loveth not his brother whom he seeth, how can he love God whom he seeth not? And this commandment we have from God, that he who loveth God love also his brother.’” — Pius XII, *The Mystical Body of Christ*, p. 46.

“Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind... And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.” — St. Matthew 22:34.

“In the clash of selfish interest, unleashed hate... nothing could be better or more powerful to heal, than loudly to proclaim the new commandment of Christ. That commandment enjoins a love which extends to all, knows no barriers nor national boundaries, excludes no race, excepts not even its own enemies.” — Pope Pius XI, *Letter on the Catholic Priesthood*, 1935, N.C.W.C. ed., p. 17.

“Believe me, when you did it to one of the least of my brethren, you did it to me.” — St. Matthew 25:40.

“Let me state most emphatically that no one can be a Catholic and not have ‘a lively sense of charity for all the sons of the same Father and all those redeemed by the same Divine Blood.’ The law of charity is the foundation of Christianity and this law must reach out not only to individuals but to all nations, all races, and all classes.” — Bishop James A. Griffin of Springfield, Illinois, in a letter to the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights, 1940.

4. All men are called to the perfect unity of the Church, the Body of Christ, wherein Christ joins all the members to Himself and to each other to form together His Fullness, the Whole Christ, and wherein all, "whatever be their origin or their speech, must know that they have equal rights as children in the House of the Lord, where the law of Christ and the peace of Christ prevails." (Pope Pius XII, *On the Function of the State in the Modern World*).

Against racial clannishness:

a) membership in the Mystical Body creates the most sublime brotherhood of men in Christ:

"You are one body, with a single Spirit; each of you, when he was called in the same hope; with the same Lord, the same faith, the same baptism; with the same God, the same Father, all of us, who is above all things and pervades all things, and lives in all of us." — St. Paul: Ephesians, 4:4.

"We, all of us, have been baptized into a single body by the power of a single Spirit, Jews and Greeks, slaves and free men alike; we have all been given drink at a single source, the one Spirit... You are Christ's body, organs of its depending upon each other." — St. Paul: I Corinthians 12:13 and 27.

b) membership in the Mystical Body intensifies the concern which we must have for others:

- that I must be aware of the corporateness of men, natural and supernatural;
- that what I do to others (for example, racial discrimination, insults, injustice), I do to Christ;
- that I must build up the Body by doing what I reasonably can to remove the bad conditions resulting from racial prejudice and injustice, which impede the work of Christ in the world;
- that what one part of the Body, what any man, suffers (for example, the sharecroppers in the South, the poorly-housed in Chicago, the people in India), I suffer as well; I may not be indifferent;
- that I must be aware of men's supreme action together in the Body: sacrificing together with Christ the High Priest at Mass;
- that I must carry this corporate action, learned at the altar, into other relationships of life (international, economic, racial).

"A man's body is all one, though it has a number of different organs; and all the multitude of organs goes to make up one body; so it is with Christ. . . . There was to be no want of unity in the body; all the different parts of it were to make each other's welfare their common care. If one part is suffering, all the rest suffer with it; if one part is treated with honor, all the rest find pleasure in it. And you are Christ's body." — St. Paul: Ephesians 12:12 and 25-26.

"Father, I pray that all may be one, even as thou, Father, in me and I in thee; that they may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." — John 17:21.

"Bear ye one another's burdens, and so you shall fulfill the law of Christ." — St. Paul: Galatians 6:2.

"...besides organized action there is urgent need of individual action by Catholics. Unfortunately, the number of Catholics is all too few who make it a matter of conscience to be fair and just and charitable to Negroes the same as to other fellow citizens. Nevertheless, there are such Catholics, both men and women, and some who have even immunized themselves against the ridicule and 'razzing' of shallow friends and acquaintances. They are the salt of the earth.

"I recall an incident a few years ago involving a Commissioner of Police in a metropolitan area with a population of over 900,000. He had had the courage, following a competitive examination, to promote a Negro staff policeman to the rank of Lieutenant. He was of course denounced. . . . This same Commissioner told me, in something of a Celtic accent but with real Celtic faith: 'Father, I had to promote that man. He stood highest in the examination. He had a right to the promotion. If I didn't promote him, I couldn't make my confession!' This public official was putting his Faith into practice. This is what I mean by personal action.

"Let me cite another instance. Early in July a Catholic man and his wife told me that they had recently been asked to sign a petition in their neighborhood not to sell their homes to Negroes. This couple refused to sign. Actually they were the only home owners in the block that refused to do so. As a result, they and their children were subjected to every kind of cheap sarcasm and abuse by their neighbors. But they stood firm. They acted as they did, because they were Catholics, declining to do what they were asked to do because, as they said, it was wrong." — Bishop Francis J. Haas, "Catholics and Race Equality." *Catholic Mind*, December 1946.

c) the Mystical Body of Christ augments the supreme worth of every individual who is called to be

- a member of Christ
- a sharer in the divine life
- a sharer in Christ's priestly character and acts.

"In the light of the unity of all mankind . . . individuals do not feel themselves isolated units, like grains of sand, but feel united by the very force of their nature, and by their eternal destiny, into an organic, harmonious mutual relationship. . . . The heralds who proclaimed it (the doctrine of love and peace), moved by supernatural charity, have reclaimed, moulded and raised life to divine heights. . . . They have made

of men, wise or ignorant, strong or weak, living temples of God and branches of the very Vine which is Christ." — Pope Pius XII, *On the Function of the State in the Modern World*.

d) the Mystical Body of Christ enhances the sacredness of the fundamental human rights:

- to maintain and develop one's life;
- to worship God in private and in public;
- to marry and enjoy family life;
- to work;
- to a sufficient, secure life (to a living, family, savings wage);
- to free choice of a state of life;
- to form associations for the common good.

"He who would have the Star of Peace, the Star of Bethlehem, shine out and stand over society should cooperate for his part in giving back to the human person the dignity given to it by God from the very beginning; he should oppose the excessive herding of men as if they were a mass without a soul... and bent on bringing back society to its center of gravity which is the law of God, aspire to the service of the human person and of his common life ennobled in God... It is a fight for the human race that is gravely ill and must be restored in the name of conscience ennobled by Christianity." — Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message, 1942*, N.C.W.C. ed., pp. 15, 20, 22.

e) the Mystical Body of Christ provides the richest source for the supernatural life and spirit of love which is necessary for any program of interracial or social justice:

- unity with Christ, as High Priest, King, and Teacher;
- unity with others through Christ and in Christ;
- obligations to others for the sake of Christ.

"Then only will it be possible to unite all in harmonious striving for the common good, when all sections of society have the intimate conviction that they are members of a single family and children of the same Heavenly Father, and further, that they are 'one body in Christ, and everyone members of one another,' so that 'if one member suffers anything, all members suffer with it.'" — Pope Pius XI, *On the Reconstruction of the Social Order*, 1931, N.C.W.C. ed., p. 44.

f) the social unity of the Mystical Body provides an ideal and a model for reconstructing the social order along functional (vocational) instead of racial lines, according to the organic unity established in social life by God.

"If then the members of the social body be thus reformed, and if the true directive principle of social and economic activity be thus re-established, it will be possible to say, in a sense, of this body what the Apostle says of the Mystical Body of Christ: 'The whole body (being closely joined

and knit together through every joint of the system according to the functioning in due measure of each single heart) derives its increase to the building up of itself in love.' — Pope Pius XI, *On the Reconstruction of the Social Order*, p. 34.

II. The equality of all men.

A. *Founded upon the nature of man*, as an intelligent and free being who is:

- of incalculable dignity and sacredness.
- responsible for perfecting his nature and for attaining the life of Heaven.
- redeemed by Christ, and
- destined to be a member of Christ's Mystical Body.

So that human rights

- originate in man's nature;
- are created with man, inherent in him, inalienable;
- are not something conferred upon him by other men as a privilege;
- are not conferred or taken away by social custom, geographical boundaries, race, etc.
- are not conferred by constitutions or laws;
- are guaranteed and protected by constitutions, laws, and customs.

B. *Founded upon the equality of essential human rights*, which stems from the truth that *all men* have the same essential dignity and the same essential responsibility.

1. Equality in human rights is violated:

- a) by denying equal opportunities to men because of race or nationality, i.e., by treating equals unequally;
- b) by failing to remedy, with proportionate efforts, the accumulated results of underprivileged living, i.e., by treating unequals (in conditions, etc.), equally.

2) Interracial justice requires that:

- a) Individuals and group deal with one another in such a way that equality of opportunity shall not be denied to anyone because of race or nationality.
- b) The community shall not allow such considerations to interfere with the enjoyment of equal human rights by all.

"All men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. These rights are conferred by God with equal bounty upon every human being. Therefore, in obedience to the Creator's will, each of us is bound to respect the rights of his fellowmen. This is the essential meaning of justice, the only foundation on which may rest securely the fabric of society and the structure of our political, legal, and economic systems." — Pastoral Letter of the Hierarchy of the United States, 1884.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men. . . ." — *Declaration of Independence*, 1776.

III. What are some of these human rights?

A. *The Right to Life*

"A fundamental personal right: the right to maintain and develop one's corporal, intellectual and moral life." — Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942, p. 15.

"The right to exist includes the right to the protection of the law against the unjust taking of human life, against mob violence or lynching." — John LaFarge, S.J., *The Race Question and the Negro* (1945), p. 86.

B. *The Right to Work*

"A fundamental personal right: the right to work as the indispensable means toward the maintenance of family life." — Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942, p. 15.

C. *The Right to a Living Family Wage*

"Every effort must be made that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately ordinary domestic needs." — Pope Pius XI,

On the Reconstruction of the Social Order, p. 24.

"Intolerable, and to be opposed with all our strength, is the abuse whereby mothers of families, because of the insufficiency of the father's salary, are found to engage in gainful occupations outside the domestic walls, to the neglect of their proper cares and duties, particularly the education of their children." — Pope Pius XI, *On the Reconstruction of the Social Order*, p. 24.

D. *The Right to Economic Freedom*

"The dignity of the human person requires normally as a natural foundation of life the right to the use of the goods of the earth. To this right corresponds the fundamental obligation to grant private ownership of property, if possible, to all. . . . If legislation is to play its part toward peace in the community, it must prevent the worker, who is or will be a father of a family, from being condemned to an economic dependence and slavery which is irreconcilable with his rights as a person." — Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942, p. 12.

E. The Right to an Education

"The people of this community, even a number of our Catholic people, have been taught over a period of years to look down upon the colored people, to despise and hate them, or even to consider them as something less than human. This is direct opposition, of course, to the well-established principles of the Church, principles which teach us that in the sight of Almighty God there is no distinction because of the color of the skin. . . . We are not pleading for the rights of our colored children as citizens; we are appealing for the granting of their rights as Catholics. They are in desperate need of a more intimate knowledge of God, a knowledge that can be obtained only in a Catholic School." — Msgr. Frederick Ketter, president of the school board of Reitz Memorial Catholic High School in Indianapolis, in a letter addressed to the parents of high school students, 1944.

"A fundamental personal right; the right to develop life, and especially the right to religious formation and education." — Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942, p. 15.

"Interracial justice is concerned with education for two reasons: as a matter of justice, since education is the key to opportunity under our present conditions. As a matter of race relations, racial attitudes are deeply influenced by the type as well as the content and spirit of the education afforded to members of either or any group." — John LaFarge, S.J., *The Race Question and the Negro*, p. 210.

"The Pope and the Bishops insist upon Catholic education on all levels for Catholic students. A Catholic colored girl who meets the requirements of a Catholic college and applies for a Catholic education has a *right* to it and in consequence the college has a *duty* to give it to her." — Mother Grace Dammann, R.S.C.J., a talk: "Principles versus Prejudices," given on May 31, 1938.

F. The Right to Decent Housing

"...a question closely connected with the preservation of peace is the housing of the people. . . . First of all, we point out that every individual has a right to decent living conditions. The material wealth of the world was placed by God at man's disposal, not for the benefit of the few, or the strong, but in order that conditions should be created in which every individual would be enabled to develop in accordance with the designs of the Creator." — Bishops of Scotland, "Housing and Family Life," a pastoral issued in January 1946, *Catholic Mind*, April 1946.

"The right to own a home and to reside in an atmosphere suited to one's social and economic status should not be impaired by reason of race or color. Covenants which impair this right should be outlawed as contrary to the common good and the dignity of the human person. . . ." — Report of *Seminar on Negro Problems in the Field of Social Action* published by the Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1946.

"We owe to these [Negro] fellow citizens to see that they have in fact the rights which are given them in our Constitution. This means not only political equality, but also fair economic and educational opportunities, a

just share in public welfare projects, good housing without exploitation." — Bishops of the United States, 1943.

"He who would have the Star of Peace shine over society... should strive to secure for every family a dwelling where a materially and morally healthy family life may be seen in all its vigor and worth." — Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942, p. 16.

G. *The Right to Peace in a Neighborhood*

"The practical conclusions... derived from the moral nobility of work... include... the conservation and perfection of a social order... which will promote the care and practice of the social spirit in one's immediate neighborhood... and in the nation, a spirit which by smoothing over friction arising from privilege or class interests, removes from the workers the sense of isolation through the assuring experience of a genuinely human and fraternally Christian solidarity." — Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942, p. 17.

H. *The Right to Esteem and Honor*

"Good esteem is the good opinion which one person has formed and entertains of another.... This esteem is connatural in so far as we should not depreciate anyone who has not proved to deserve depreciation, e.g., we should assume a man to be honest until he has proved himself to be dishonest.... Good esteem is an object of acquired right, so that to take it away or to diminish it is an act of injustice.... Detraction and calumny are unjust violations of the good esteem of another, one by making known to others some true but hidden fault of that other, the other by imputing to or saying of another what is false in fact and known to be false.

"We are bound to love and esteem others and to exhibit the honor that is their due: 'Loving one another with the charity of the brotherhood, with honor forstalling one another.' (Romans 12:10). Contumely [contempt, disdain] is a sin against justice and charity; contumely is the unjust violation of the honor due to another. Honor consists in the external recognition of another's excellence. Every man, however low his station in the social scale, has some excellence, perhaps even great excellence, which he exhibits in human society as a part of it.... Since contumely is an offense against justice, it carries an obligation of restitution." — Henry Davis, S.J., *Moral and Pastoral Theology*, Vol. 2, pp. 387-391.

"To every human person belongs the right of expecting in human society to be treated according to the laws which govern human association among decent men; for every man is to be esteemed as good, until proved otherwise." — H. Noldin, S.J., *Summa Theologiae Moralis*, II, p. 585 et seq.

The "right of every man, regardless of race or color, to a recognition of his equal dignity as a human person with all other men." — George Dunne, S.J., *America*, October 30, 1945.

"The full benefits of our free institutions and the rights of our minorities must be openly acknowledged and honestly respected. We ask this acknowledgment and respect particularly for our colored fellow citizens." — The administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1942.

I. *The Right to Marry.*

"A fundamental personal right: the right to marry and to achieve the aim of married life, the right to conjugal and domestic society." — Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message, 1942*, p. 15.

J. *The Right to Worship God*

"A fundamental personal right: the right to worship God in private and public and to carry on religious works of charity." — Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message, 1942*, p. 15.

IV. How are these rights violated?

A. *By discrimination in employment*

"In all these cases of discrimination, the human dignity of the Negro is outraged and the virtues of justice or charity, or both, are violated. The Negro worker is not treated as a man possessing a natural right to reasonable intercourse with his fellows, nor as a brother having the same needs and claims as the white employer and the white employee....

"Such discrimination, whether practiced by employees or employers, is definitely immoral....

"The Christian precept of brotherly love is not satisfied by mere well-wishing, or benevolent emotion, nor sentimental yearning. It requires action, action which assists the neighbor in need." — Msgr. John A. Ryan, Congressional Hearing, August 31, 1944.

"Discrimination against Negroes in industry is directly opposed to the teaching of Jesus Christ and to what all decent-minded men regard as democracy.... To the Christian, the Negro has rights as a man simply because he is a man as dear to Christ as himself. The American unionist who rises to this nobility of soul will come close to understanding the inner meaning of democracy that all men are created equal, and understanding it, will practice it with a full sense of fellowship to his fellow employees, whether Negro or white." — Bishop Francis Haas, in *Ammunition*, UAW-CIO magazine, February 1944.

"...every man has a natural right when in the pursuit of employment to be free from unfair interference. In the instance of the Negro, that right is not infrequently violated by white employers and white workers.

"The managers of large industrial corporations may represent a private business. But they also occupy a social position. Through the wage checks paid to thousands of their employees, they distribute to many Americans access to the nation's wealth. If they establish a discriminatory policy of refusing employment to Negroes or of hiring them only for janitorial work, they violate the Negro's natural right. The character of their social position indeed places upon employers a moral obligation to provide employment opportunities for Negroes.

"It is a shameful thing that, even in some of the instances in which employers have hired Negroes, white workers have protested and threatened work stoppages. White workers, who engage in such activities, also vio-

late a natural right of the Negro. They commit a moral offense. They cooperate in a crime as the members of a lynch mob. The union officials, who by tricks and other devices, prevent Negroes from the full benefits of membership commit a greater fault." — Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, "Race Relations and Human Rights," *Interracial Review*, October 1946.

B. By Racial Segregation

"The Church in this country at the moment is face to face with the problems of race discrimination. It must be met by a reaffirmation in action of the great Christian virtues of justice and charity. Jim Crowism in the Mystical Body of Christ is a disgraceful anomaly. Christianity pays no heed to accidental differences of race, color, or economic status. To see Christ in every creature is the very essence of the Christian religion." — Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, *Negro Digest*, November 1942.

"... [This] reason for the abolition of race discrimination should appeal to all immediately; for it is the most convincing and the most compelling to all who call themselves Christians. For race segregation, as it appears on some of our statute books and is tolerated or practiced by so many of our people seriously violates justice and charity. For what heed do these give to the words of the Lord and Master of us all: 'A new commandment I give unto you that you love one another even as I have loved you.' And when any denies to his neighbor the rights and privileges which he justly claims and freely exercises for himself, simply because they are the God-given rights of every human being who is born into this world, how, we ask, can such a man reconcile his conduct with this sacred commandment: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'" — Sister Mary Ellen O'Hanlon, O.P., *Racial Myths*, River Forest, Ill.: Rosary College, 1946, pp. 29-31.

"Racial segregation is a crime that has humiliated, degraded, and embittered a whole people and when carried over into Catholic institutions, besides violating justice, betrays the essence of Christian ethics, which is charity.... All men are equal in the sight of God, however unequal in their intellectual gifts, physical graces, or material goods. It is precisely because racial segregation denies this truth that it is a violation of justice." — Sister Cecilia Marie, O.P., "The Negro Problem," *Catholic Mind*, June 1946.

"The general law of the Church, though providing for the cases in which different parishes can be established in the same locality on the basis of diversity of language or nationality, says nothing about different parishes for Catholics of the same nationality, established merely on the basis of diversity of color. The origin of 'colored parishes' was due to a deplorable spirit of racial discrimination on the part of some Americans; and it is earnestly to be hoped that the Catholic clergy will strive to bring about, as soon as possible, a condition in which white and colored Catholics will worship together in the same church." — Francis J. Connell, C.S.S.R., *American Ecclesiastical Review*, June 1946.

"Segregation, applied as a settled social policy, tends to injustice, imposes intolerable burdens upon society, and is increasingly practically unworkable. It also tends to detract from, rather than contribute to, permanent social peace.

"Segregation, as a compulsory measure based on race, imputes essential inferiority to the segregated group.

"Segregation, since it creates a ghetto, brings, in the majority of instances, for the segregated group, a diminished degree of participation in those matters which are ordinary human rights, such as proper housing, educational facilities, police protection, legal justice, employment, etc. Hence it works objective injustice. So normal is the result for the individual that the result is rightly termed inevitable for the group at large." — John LaFarge, S.J., *The Race Question and the Negro*, pp. 158-159.

"Segregation, as now practiced, involves discrimination: discrimination in educational opportunity, in economic life, in housing and in scores of other areas. It arises from a sense of racial superiority, and results in injustice — a constant grinding down of the aspirations of individuals for no other reason than racial origin.

"Is segregation ever morally justified? In the abstract a state of affairs can be imagined where two races live in the same community, are segregated in school with equal facilities for all groups, have equal access to the same kind of jobs or professions, the same economic returns, the same level of living conditions, and so on, yet not moving in the same social circles and not intermarrying. But this is only an abstract picture. In practice, segregation does not exist without discrimination, and discrimination does not exist without injustice." — *Interracial Justice*, a pamphlet issued by the San Antonio Archdiocesan Committee on Interracial Relations, 1945.

"This discontinuance [of Buffalo's only two Negro Catholic Churches], approved by diocesan officials, was decided upon so that the parishioners may attend parish churches nearest their homes. This way the parishioners will be afforded better facilities and there will be no segregation. This is the ideal Christian practice, everybody worshiping together." — Very Rev. John Obendorfer, quoted in the *New York Times*, July 20, 1946.

"Open wide the doors of all churches, all schools, all unions, all fraternal bodies and all business to people of every race and color. Only by working, playing, and worshiping together, day by day, can you wipe out the misunderstandings which are fertile soil for race hatred. Unite Negro and white schools, churches and other institutions so that together you may help to solve the economic, social and political problems which beset all people everywhere. Only in this way can we build a world of brotherhood, with peace, liberty, and justice for all." — Msgr. John A. Ryan and 316 prominent Americans in a public statement, 1943.

C. By Racial Residential Restrictions

"There can be no justification from the point of view of social justice for any generalized policy in a community by which persons and families who can and will conform to general community standards are prevented from obtaining the type of housing that they desire, no matter what be their race, color, or creed. — John LaFarge, S.J., *The Race Question and the Negro*, p. 168.

"Negroes are discriminated against in obtaining the good housing available in urban communities. Overcrowding has led to wholesale exploitation by

property owners in Negro communities. Efforts must be made to relieve the tensions and fears which keep Negroes from expanding into new neighborhoods. The policy of enforced racial segregation is a grave moral wrong and private agreements which enforce such segregation violate the Christian virtues of social justice and charity." — Report adopted by an interracial meeting sponsored by the Social Action Department, N.C.W.C., November 1945.

"It seems evident that there is no one thing more conducive to race conflict than the so-called restrictive covenant, which condemns a minority group to live in ghettos and alleys, in shacks and garages, regardless of culture and regardless of income. That, in turn, stems from a plain denial of the brotherhood of man. Ultimately the economic and social phases of racial prejudice are results, not causes. For complete emancipation the Negro has his choice of two roads: either of the communist ideal of the brotherhood of the proletariat, or the Christian ideal of brotherhood in the Mystical Body of Christ. Many of us Catholics do little to make the choice an easy one for the Negro." — Rev. Leo J. Trese, *The Commonweal*, February 15, 1946.

"In the hideous question of restrictive covenants we are faced with a problem that far transcends the question of democratic rights. It is one of the most important basic factors militating against interracial harmony. Moreover, and this is the most important element in the entire problem, its solution is essentially a question of simple justice and charity. How we eventually answer this question will plainly reveal whether we really love our neighbor, or merely tolerate his existence. The God-given right of every human being to an existence on a plane equal to his dignity as a child of God must of necessity be our guiding rule. Yet, the whole theory of restrictive covenants ruthlessly ignores this divinely-ordained principle." — Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, "Restrictive Covenants vs. Brotherhood," May 11, 1946.

D. *By Prejudice.* (A prejudice is a judgment as to the character or the deeds of a fellow human being, made without grounds in truth or actual facts.)

"...there remains no other way to salvation than that of repudiating definitely...the pride of race and blood...and to turn resolutely toward that spirit of sincere fraternity which is founded on the worship of the Divine Father of all..." — Pope Pius XII to the citizens of Rome, March 18, 1945.

"Traditionally, the evil impulses such as avarice, hatred, and others, which attack the human heart have been designated as the seven capital sins. The white American in the United States seems to be beset by an eighth capital sin. It is race prejudice. It is acquired early through social environment. It is subtle. It is interwoven with pride, a hunger for social respectability, and the fear of social humiliation. Yet if the white American has achieved a fair degree of success in grappling with the other seven, there is reason to believe that he can succeed in the struggle against the eighth. And he will struggle when he is persuaded that prejudice is evil." — Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, "Race Relations and Human Rights," *Interracial Review*, October 1946.

"A Pledge for American Unity:

- "1. I will spread no rumor and no slander against any sect.
- "2. I will never try to indict a whole people by reasons of the delinquency of any member.
- "3. I will daily deal with every man in business, in social, and in political relations, only on the basis of his true individual worth.
- "4. In my daily conduct I will consecrate myself, hour by hour, to the achievement of the highest ideal of the dignity of mankind, human equality, human fellowship, and human brotherhood." — A pledge written by Joseph M. Proskauer and endorsed by Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York, 1944.

"Christian social philosophy regards as sinful not only actual violations or rights, but those *states of mind* which by inflaming passions and clouding human intellect encourage such violations. For this reason Christian social philosophy looks down upon racial prejudices, deliberately fostered, as a sin." — John LaFarge, S.J., *The Race Question and the Negro*, p. 95.

"The prejudices, discriminations, and artificial conventions from which the Negro suffers are all based upon ignorance, ignorance of the moral law, ignorance of the principles of Christianity, ignorance of the fundamental facts of the whole situation." — Msgr. John A. Ryan, *Negro Digest*, April 1943.

E. *By Stirring up Racial Hatred*

"In the name of justice and charity we depreciate most earnestly all attempts at stirring up racial hatred; for this, while it hinders the progress of all our people in the sphere of temporal welfare, places serious obstacles to the advance of religion among men." — Pastoral letter of the Hierarchy of the United States, 1920.

F. *By Denying a Catholic Education*

"I often wonder how many Catholic educators can speak lightly of the whole question of segregation, how they can conceitedly take as a matter of course the idea that Negroes can be excluded from Catholic institutions. I ask myself what would be their feelings, what would be their psychological reaction, the reaction of their own families, their parents or wives or children or friends or associates if they themselves were excluded merely because of their race or color? What would be the effect on their own mentality, and still more, on their Catholic faith?" — John LaFarge, S.J., *Interracial Review*, December 1945.

"But some people say that it is wrong to nurse a Negro in a Catholic hospital or educate a Negro in a Catholic university. The Catholic Church, denouncing race discrimination in its encyclicals, has said that 'those who enter the Church, whatever be their origin or their speech... have equal rights as children in the House of the Lord.'" — Claude H. Heithaus, S.J., 1944.

"Probably most [Catholic colleges], if not all, can say that they do not draw a color line. One, maybe two or three Negroes are now in attendance or have graduated in the past. It is not enough.... It may be said that

all colored students applying are admitted, if they meet our admission standards. But even this is not enough. It may fulfill the demands of justice. I shall not argue the point. I will say that, to my way of thinking, it does not fulfill the demands of charity — the charity that demands giving until it hurts.

"...For the most part, however, they [Catholic Negroes] cannot avail themselves of a Catholic college education because they lack the financial means... If we would be truly charitable, we will make it possible for some to attend our institutions by establishing at least one scholarship for a Catholic Negro..." — Rev. Vincent McQuade, O.S.A., "Catholic Education and the Negro," *Catholic Mind*, March 1946.

"As far as Christian charity is concerned, it is indeed tragic that there should be discrimination against colored children in Catholic schools. At the same time, in view of the deep-rooted antagonism between white and colored that prevails in certain parts of our country, Church authorities may at times deem it more prudent, for the time being, to have separate schools for white and colored pupils. When such circumstances are present, priests should not fail to explain to their people that this arrangement is not in accord with the ideals of the Catholic religion, that it is being employed only because of the unchristian racial prejudice with which many Americans are infected, that we should look forward to the day when no distinction is made between white and colored in Catholic Schools. At any rate, in those sections of our country where there is no discrimination in the public schools, there should be no discrimination in the parochial schools..." — Francis J. Connell, C.S.S.R., *American Ecclesiastical Review*, June 1946.

G. *By Racial Restrictions in Welfare Institutions*

"We condemn wholeheartedly the discriminatory practices of those hospitals which refuse to admit Negro patients or which give them inferior accommodations. This is contrary to Catholic ethical standards and results in great harm to the body and soul of the Negro.... We deplore restriction on the admission of Negroes to [welfare] institutions and recommend that practices which exclude them from institutions or segregate them in quarters where less adequate service is given be abandoned." — Report of *Seminar on Negro Problems in the Field of Social Action* published by the Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1946.

H. *By Racial Limitations in Voting*

"In a democracy the common good depends on the free exercise of the right to vote by all qualified voters. Hence it is incumbent on Catholics not only to exercise this right themselves but to see to it that none of their fellow citizens are impeded in the exercise of this right by reason of race, color, or national origin. They cannot, therefore, condone any institution or practice by which the right is infringed such as intimidation, the 'white primary' or abuse of the poll-tax to disfranchise Negroes. Such institutions and practices must be condemned as illegal and immoral." — Report of *Seminar on Negro Problems in the Field of Social Action* published by the Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1946.

I. By Laws Prohibiting Interracial Marriage¹

"In the name of the dignity of the human person, we reject every discrimination based on race. But it is in the very name of the dignity of the human person that certain individuals think they can admit, at least by way of expediency, some rights founded on race. . . . They contend that purity of blood is helpful for the vigor of the population. . . .

"We find ourselves here in the presence of one of numerous fallacies. . . . To begin with, it has to be proved that a mixture of blood constitutes in itself a blemish, that it causes a moral or physical weakness of individuals. All that we can say is that at the present time there is no proof that this is so at all. . . . But even if it were proved, the problem of right would in no wise be changed. Marriage and procreation are faculties attaching to the very nature of the human person; they are part of his physical and moral nature and constitute rights. The exercise of these rights, as well as of all those inherent in man's nature, are dependent on the judgment of his reason, of his conscience, of his prudence." — Joseph T. Delos, O.P., as part of a symposium, *Race: Nation: Person*, 1944, p. 60.

"According to the Catholic position, the state has no right to make laws affecting the validity of the marriages of baptized persons. . . . She [the Church] does not admit that human welfare, or social welfare, is promoted by the state recognition of any marriage which she pronounces invalid, nor by state prohibition of any marriage which she declares to be valid." — Monsignor John A. Ryan and F. J. Boland, C.S.C., *Catholic Principles of Politics*, 1940, p. 332.

"... a Catholic Negro and a Catholic white person, who are otherwise qualified . . . have a canonical right to demand that their parish priest officiate at a ceremony which makes them man and wife.

"I rejoice that this is the situation, even though I believe that the general question of intermarriage between whites and blacks is irrelevant, unrealistic, and outside the realm of matters that anyone should bother his head about." — Msgr. John A. Ryan, "The Black Patterns of White America," *The Negro Digest*, April 1943.

"In some of our Southern states there are civil laws forbidding marriages between whites and Negroes, and some of our far Western states attempt to prevent marriage between whites and Asiatics. These laws can affect only marriages when both parties are unbaptized. Moreover, all laws must be just and reasonable. This is particularly the case with laws affecting marriages. . . . Today the purpose of these laws is to protect financially and politically the domination of the whites. It would indeed be difficult to prove that herein lies a reason justifying these laws . . . it would be difficult to prove the invalidity of these marriages in conscience. Prudence

¹ "An interracial marriage is absolutely void in those states where it is unlawful and is not just voidable. . . .

"No action is needed to invalidate the marriage of a white person and a Negro, the union being null and void *ab initio*, and this illegality may be set up in court by any party to whom the alleged marriage is opposed, directly or collaterally." — Charles S. Mangum, Jr., *The Legal Status of the Negro*, 1940, pp. 244, 248.

and the good of the couples themselves would induce a pastor to dissuade in most cases such interracial marriages. Social ostracism is likely to make the marriage unhappy. However, this would not justify a pastor to refuse to assist at such a Catholic marriage." — Monsignor Louis J. Nau, *Marriage Laws of the Code of Canon Law*, 1934, p. 15.

J. *By Limiting Equality in Opportunities*

"Justice to the Negro demands, therefore, the recognition of certain moral principles.... And these principles are put into practice by acknowledging: 1. the dignity of the Negro in God's sight; 2. the rights of the Negro in everyday life. In part of the United States we are denying (at least indirectly) the right to:

- 1) Freedom of speech and expression, by a) excluding qualified Negroes from schools and colleges; b) effectively denying them the right to vote in some states; c) excluding them from parks, theaters, and other institutions of a municipal or cultural nature.
- 2) Freedom to worship God, by a) demanding that Negroes attend separate churches; b) the prejudice and lack of interest shown even by some Catholics toward Negroes seeking the true faith.
- 3) Freedom from want, by a) denying the Negro a just living wage; b) excluding him from active membership in unions; c) excluding him from hotels and restaurants.
- 4) Freedom from fear, by a) denying the Negro the usual titles of polite society, referring to them as 'nigger,' cursing them; b) making them the victims of violent segregation in public conveyances and in the sections of cities in which they must live; c) denying them, at times, a just trial, and making them victims of mob violence." — Thomas F. Mulcrone, S.J., in the Institute of Social Order's *Chaplains Service*, 1945.

"Just as all men have a right to the sun and food, in the same way everyone has the right to take his part in the contest of life, to perfect himself, and to eliminate the conditions of inferiority in which he may find himself.... The Church is sternly opposed to those inequalities which keep man from developing his personality according to his nature and his own walk of life. — Archbishop Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, in a talk to the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, as quoted by the NCWC News Service, December 17, 1946.

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Catholics in the 79th Congress

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THERE were eleven senators and seventy-seven representatives in the 79th Congress who are, or claim to be, Catholics.¹ This gives the Church 11.5 percent of the ninety-six senators and 17.5 percent of the 435 members of the House of Representatives. Such a proportion is not far out of line with the ratio of the number of Catholics in this country to the total population. If we take a rather strict accounting of some 24 million Catholics, that would be 17 percent of the present population of nearly 140 million people in the United States.

What are the party affiliations of the Catholic congressmen? In the House, sixty-six are Democrats, ten are Republicans, and one is the sole member of the American Labor Party. Thus, of the seventy-seven Catholic representatives, 87.5 percent are Democrats. In the Senate, all the Catholics are Democrats. These ratios are much higher than the Democratic majority in each house, where they hold 58 percent and 55 percent of the seats in the Senate and House respectively.

Looking at these proportions from another angle, we find that the sixty-six Catholic Democrats are 27.5 percent of the 240 Democrats in the House whereas the ten Catholic Republicans make up only 5 percent of that party's voting strength. Similarly in the Senate, the Catholic senators number one-fifth of the Democrats, with no Catholic at all among the forty Republicans.

Does this preponderant majority of Catholic Democrats in Congress reflect any close affinity between that party and the members of the Catholic Church in this country? To some degree, perhaps, it does. A notable factor in the history of the Church in the United States has been the concentration of its members in large cities. For many years a good part of the strength of the Democratic Party has rested on its control of these cities. It is easy to conclude that the correlation of Catholics and Democratic Party is, in large measure, due to the predominantly urban character of both.

¹ Names derived from a survey of the *Congressional Directory* and *Who's Who in America* and from private information and inquiry.

A survey of the districts represented by Catholics in Congress and the cities they live in brings out these facts. Table I is an analytical breakdown of the Catholic membership in the House of Representatives according to the size of the cities they live in.

TABLE I

City-size ²	Democrats	Republicans	American Labor Party	Total
over 500,000	40	2	1	43
100,000 to 500,000	11	0		11
50,000 to 100,000	5	0		5
10,000 to 50,000	6	5		11
less than 10,000	4	3		7
Totals	66	10	1	77

If we take a population of 100,000 as the rough dividing line between "big" cities and medium and small-size ones, from Table I, we find that fifty-four of the Catholic congressmen come from large cities, or about two-thirds of them, and only twenty-three from cities that have less than that total. Of the seven who make their homes in towns of less than 10,000 people, only four come from what we can rightly call small towns. This division between urban and rural representation is quite different from what is true of Congress as a whole.

This is what we find in the delegations from the metropolitan districts of the country. Of the ten seats in the House allotted to Chicago and Cook County, seven are filled by Catholics. Detroit and Wayne County are entitled to six Representatives; five of them are Catholics. Both of the congressmen whose district lie entirely within the city of Baltimore are Catholics. Both Catholics in the Missouri delegation come from St. Louis. New Jersey's two Catholic representatives are from Jersey City.

New York City sends twenty-four representatives to Congress of whom fourteen are Catholics. Two of the four members from Boston, all six of Philadelphia's congressmen, and both members of the House from Rhode Island are Catholics.³

² Population figures of the 1940 Census are used throughout.

³ This was the picture in the 79th Congress. As a result of their decisions to retire from Congress, or their being defeated in the primaries or the November elections, thirty-three of the seventy-seven will not be members of the 80th Congress. Among them are eight from Pennsylvania, six from New York, four from Illinois, and all four who represent Connecticut, two each from California, Michigan and Missouri, and one apiece from Delaware, Idaho, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

It is interesting to notice that the CIO, within a week after the elections of 1944, claimed that their Political Action Committee had helped to elect ninety-six representatives. Going through the list of their reported successes, we find almost half of the Catholics in the lower House among them. Did the CIO-PAC help maintain the total of Catholics in the 80th Congress?

What did these Catholic representatives contribute to the 79th Congress? First of all, we note that the floor leader of both major parties is a Catholic, John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, the Democratic floor leader, and Joseph W. Martin, Jr., also of Massachusetts, the Republican floor leader. Both are positions of strategic importance, and each is the leading candidate for Speaker of the House in his party. In view of the Republican control of the 80th Congress, Mr. Martin's election in January 1947, is almost automatic.

Next in importance are the chairmen of committees who are elected to these positions according to the length of their service in the House and on the committees. This rule works to the advantage of Southern members since they have greater assurance of continuous service. The committee setup was revised by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 and many substantial changes will be inaugurated in the 80th Congress. For the sake of the record, let us note that these committees had Catholics as chairmen during the 79th Congress: Accounts (Mr. Cochran, Mo.), Coinage, Weights and Measures (Mr. White, Idaho), Immigration and Naturalization (Mr. Lesinski, Mich.), Invalid Pensions (Mr. Kelley, Pa.), Labor (Mrs. Norton, N. J.), Mines and Mining (Mr. Somers, N. Y.), Pensions (Mr. Buckley, N. Y.), Revision of the Laws (Mr. Keogh, N. Y.). Catholics were chairmen also of three committees of lesser moment: Election No. 1, Library, and Memorials.

Seven Catholics were among the twenty-six Democrats in the hardworking Appropriations committee that decides, for the most part, just how the government's money is to be spent. There were also six Catholics among the fifteen Democrats on the Ways and Means committee whose equally important task it is to initiate the bills to raise these funds. Other important House committees with large Catholic representation on the Democratic side of their membership were: Judiciary, Labor, and Naval Affairs.

Except for Mr. Welch of California, none of the Catholic Republicans held important positions on House committees. He was rank-

ing member of these committees: Insular Affairs, Labor and Merchant Marines and Fisheries.

How did the Catholic members of the House vote on important issues? To determine that, a selection was made from among the fifteen recorded roll calls used by the *New Republic* in their "Facts for November" supplement for September 23, 1946 and the twelve issues listed by the *CIO News* for August 19, 1946.

Ten issues were selected, six that were common to both lists, two used only by the *New Republic* and two only by the CIO. Five of the measures concerned labor relations, three price control and the remaining two might be regarded as miscellaneous. All are fair criteria of a "liberal" or progressive attitude toward the vital issues in domestic affairs. Thus a vote on what was the progressive side was marked by a plus and an anti-progressive vote by a minus sign. Absences were not counted in any way.

The ten measures used in this analysis are:

1. The Hobbs bill to bring labor unions under anti-racketeering laws. The recorded vote was on a rule to bring the bill up for debate. With progressive against it, the House approved, 250-108, on December 11, 1945.

2. The Case bill, which would have severely restricted the right to strike and reduced the protection of the Anti-Injunction Act and the Wagner Act. Passed the House, 257-155, with progressive votes against it.

3. The May-Arends bill which would have curbed political campaign contributions from unions and penalized breaches of no-strike provisions in contracts. A "gag" rule, on December 11, 1945, limiting amendments and by-passing the Labor Committee, was defeated when the vote of 200 to 182 did not show the needed two-thirds majority. Minus votes were given those who voted for the rule.

4. The Dirksen Amendment to the bill extending the U.S. Employment Service until June, 1947, which provided that the Service be returned to the states on June 30 of this year. Opposed by both organized labor and the Administration, the amendment passed, 254-125, on January 29, 1946.

5. The Elliott "rider" to the appropriations bill for the National Labor Relations Board, which would have barred the NLRB from all cases involving food processing workers. Passing the House, 213-136, on July 16, 1946, it was revised in the Senate to exempt only farm workers.

6. The Wolcott amendment to Price Control bill, which called for ceiling prices that included cost of production plus a "reasonable" profit. Passed, 258-137, on April 15, 1946, but removed by the Senate. A vote *for* is anti-progressive.

7. The Flanagan amendment to OPA, calling for the end of all meat subsidies after June 30, 1946. Passed the House, 214-184, but did not appear in final compromise bill. A vote *for* is anti-progressive.

8. The Patman housing bill. The vote recorded under this head was on the amendment to eliminate proposed ceiling prices on existing homes. Anti-progressive in purpose, it passed the House, 240-134, on March 6, 1946.

9. The Committee on Un-American Activities. The very first issue to face the House on January 3, 1945, was the move to make this special committee a permanent one. The vote by which this was done, 208-186, was indicative of the anti-progressive majority that would prevail.

10. Atomic Energy bill. The proponents of military control of atomic energy sought to force the recommitment of Senator McMahon's bill, passed by the Senate with civilian control. They lost, 195-146, on July 29, 1946. This was one of the few defeats suffered by the anti-progressive coalition in the House, and the only one in our list of ten issues.

On the ten measures chosen, the members of the House cast 1540 progressive votes against 2050 anti-progressive votes, for a liberal average of about 43 percent of the total votes cast. But, the seventy-seven Catholic members cast 582 progressive votes against 122 non-progressive votes, so that almost 83 percent of all the votes they registered were on the liberal side.

Running down the records of individual members of the House, we find:

Fifty-two with no minus votes, all of them Democrats except Mr. Marcantonio, N. Y., of the American Labor Party and Mr. Welch of California;

Six with one minus vote, all Democrats;

Three with two minus votes, two Democrats and one Republican;

Two with three minus votes, one of each party;

One with four minus votes, a Northern Democrat;

Two with five minus votes, one of each party;

Two with six minus votes, one of each party;

Two with seven minus votes, one of each party;

One with eight minus votes, an Eastern Republican;

Four with nine minus votes, three Southern Democrats and one Western Republican, Mr. Barrett of Wyoming;

Two with all minus votes, Mr. Martin, of Massachusetts, and Mr. O'Hara, of Minnesota.

Table II shows the varying percentages of liberal votes among the Catholic representatives according to the size of their home-cities and their parties.

TABLE II

City-size	Democrats (incl. ALP)				Republicans			
	No.	-	-	Progressive percentage	no.	-	-	Progressive percentage
over 500,000	41	360	17	95.5%	2	16	2	88.9%
100,000 to 500,000	11	77	21	78.6%	0			
50,000 to 100,000	5	49	1	98%	0			
10,000 to 50,000	6	42	16	72.4%	5	12	33	26.7%
less than 10,000	4	23	7	76.7%	3	3	25	10.7%
Totals	67	551	62	90%	10	31	60	34.1%

Is there any significance in the varying percentages in the progressive votes of these classes of Catholic representatives? On the Republican side, it would seem to be a justified conclusion that progressive thinking does not typify the Catholics from smaller towns, that it increases with the size of the city. However, the small number in all of the classifications precludes so facile an explanation. Besides, within the group of those from cities of 10,000 to 50,000 we have the sharply divergent records of Mrs. Luce, with six out of nine votes in the progressive column, and Mr. Talbot, her Connecticut neighbor, with only one liberal vote out of the nine.

On the Democratic side, there is no straight-line gradation in the progressive percentages through the classes of cities as shown in Table II. Evidently, the Catholic members are a sizeable bloc of liberal votes in this party. But that this is not due entirely to religious influence is borne out by the records of the few Catholics who come from the South.

In the group of eleven members from cities of 100,000 to 500,000 population, Mr. Hebert is from New Orleans and Mr. Kilday from San Antonio. They have perfect anti-liberal records in our analysis and contributed eighteen out of the twenty-one minus votes in this class.

Similarly, in the class of those from cities of 10,000 to 50,000, Mr. Domengeaux of Louisiana and Mr. Fernandez of New Mexico between them cast the sixteen non-progressive votes recorded above. These facts are cited not to attempt to explain away anything but to prevent premature judgments on the scanty evidence at hand.

The longest records of service in the House among the Catholic representatives in the 79th Congress is that of five members who completed eleven terms this year. Twenty-seven other congressmen have been in service longer, the oldest having completed twenty terms. One Catholic has served through ten Congresses, one has nine terms to this credit and four finished seven terms. Thus, of the seventy-three congressmen who have served fourteen years and longer, we find only eleven Catholics, or 15 percent of this number.

At the other end of the seniority list, there were sixty-nine members of the House serving their first term with the 79th Congress, or 15.8 percent of the 435 total. There were nineteen Catholics among them, or almost one-fourth of our total of seventy-seven. Whereas only 17.5 percent of the House members were Catholics, they made up 27.5 percent of the "freshmen" members in the House.

Yet it is only by length of service that most representatives rise to positions of responsibility and importance.

Let us conclude this discussion with a glance at the Catholic representation in the Senate. Among the eleven Catholic senators, we find both senators from the largest state, New York, and from the smallest state, Nevada. Other large states sending one Catholic senator to Washington are Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Of the medium-sized states, Connecticut and Louisiana have one Catholic senator apiece. Other small states besides Nevada with Catholic senators are New Mexico, Montana, and Wyoming.⁴ It is unusual that these last four states, with less than a million and a half in population among them, giving them only five representatives in the House of Representatives, should send to the Senate five of the eleven Catholic senators.

Because of the small number of senators to work with, it was not thought sufficient significant to prepare a detailed analysis of the voting records of the Catholic senators. But a brief mention of the names of the more prominent among them will attest to the caliber of their contribution to the work of the Senate and the welfare of the nation.

Senator Walsh of Massachusetts has served for a total of twenty-six years in the Senate and during the late war devoted considerable time to his work as chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee. The record of Senator Wagner of New York over the last twenty years is spotlighted by the success of the Act bearing his name that established the National Labor Relations Board and has been called the "Magna Carta" of organized labor in this country. Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming in his twelve years in the Senate has come to be recognized as an expert on the present economic structure. His work as chairman of the Temporary National Economic Committee in the years before the war still earns him praise.

Senator Chavez of New Mexico early in the year led the fight to provide for a permanent FEPC; he was forced to yield to the determined filibuster of Southern senators. Senator Mead of New York continued President's Truman's fine work as chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program. It rated headlines for the "scandals" it uncovered in its inquiries into war

⁴ Of the five Catholic senators eligible for re-election this year, senator Carville lost in the Nevada primary, Senator Mead chose instead to enter the race for the governorship of New York, and Senator Walsh lost in Massachusetts to his Republican opponent.

expenditures, war contracts, construction costs and weapons alleged to have been improperly inspected. Senator Murray of Montana has steadily urged that proper health and medical care be provided for all, even the poorest workers. He, Senator Wagner, and representative Dingell of Michigan, a Catholic, are the authors and sponsors of the bill to provide public health insurance.

The voting charts of the *CIO News* and *The New Republic* show that good or excellent records on the progressive issues were made by Senators Chavez, McMahon, Mead, Murray, Myers, and Wagner. Senators Ellender, O'Mahoney, and Walsh voted for on only about half of the liberal issues. Senators Carville and McCarron, both from Nevada, did not often vote for progressive measures.

* * *

In this article, we have been content to gather and present the facts about the Catholic representatives and senators in the 79th Congress. If an opinion may be ventured on the basis of this evidence, we can safely say that Catholic members have made a definite and notable contribution to the progress and welfare of the country. More remains to be done by Catholics in public life. Meanwhile, we await some analysis of the factors that have brought about the influence of Catholic social philosophy upon national legislation.

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The Social Theory of Jean Bodin

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GREAT as has been the growth of social sciences within the past few decades, it is inconceivable that any social scientist interested in the history of his specialized field would confine his studies merely to modern times. In the history of ideas, various theorists of the past stand out as influential in the development of outlook and method, topic interest, and scope of investigation. Jean Bodin is certainly one of these.

Bodin was born in the French city of Angers in 1530 to a French father and a mother who was reputedly a Jewess of Spanish descent. He studied at the University of Toulouse and became a professor of law there, but went to Paris in 1561. His first book, published in Latin in 1556, was the *Methodus ad facilem Historiarum Cognitionem*¹ in which he tried to analyse the purpose and function of history, leading to a statement about the state, government, and sovereignty. This book was issued in as many as thirteen Latin editions between 1566 and 1630. He entered politics in 1568 and sometime after this wrote his *De la Republique* which represented in more finished form the ideas which he had already expressed in the *Methodus*, although in the *Methodus* he showed more interest in limiting the authority of the ruler than in his later work. His political fortunes were varied, but he held various high offices, becoming *procureur general* in 1584. In 1586 he translated into Latin an enlarged edition of the *De la Republique*, publishing it under the title by which it is known today *De Republica Libri Sex*.² He was variously thought during his lifetime to be a Calvinist, a Jew, a free-thinker and an atheist, but he was a Catholic when he died of the plague in 1596, and was buried at the Monastery of Laon.

¹ Recently translated into English by Beatrice Reynolds as: *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

² The only translation in English is that by Richard Knolles: *The Six Books of a Commonweale* (London: G. Bishop, 1606), available in the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Although Bodin is most influential in the history of political science, he undoubtedly has interest for sociologists as well as political theorists. His studies were wider than political science, and will be seen to be within the subject matter of sociology too. His theories of the importance of climate and geography had a definite influence on Montesquieu and later geographical determinists. Following Bacon's idea that the discovery of new truths would come by induction, he attempted to make an unbiassed and critical use of historical and current facts, and furthered the inductive method for a study of society. Aristotle's analysis of constitutions was more or less disregarded by later writers, who were deductive rather than inductive in their method. Although there was considerable philosophical thought, the empirical study of society made little progress. Machiavelli made a step forward by his historical research and observations of contemporary society, but he produced by his work chiefly a body of rules for the practical conduct of a ruler, rather than any theory of state organization. It remained for Bodin to be the first to use the words *political science* and to endeavor to draw conclusions based on a much larger array of writings and historical facts than Machiavelli used, as well as on a study of topography and climate.

Bodin took the family as the basic social unit which provides a natural foundation for authority. He considered the state to be "an association of families and their common possessions, governed by a supreme power and by reason." (*The Six Books of a Commonweale*, Book I, Chapter 1). He thought that there was originally no organized state, but that men lived in families in a harmonious state of nature. First they associated by families for the division of labor; then "colleges" of these small work groups were formed; various colleges then grouped into corporations, and a union of corporations became a commune. States, he thought, were comprised of families, colleges, corporations, under sovereign authority.

With Pope Gregory VII, Bodin thought that the state was characterized by "force and violence" and came into being through conflict, a theory revived by Gumpłowicz, Oppenheimer and other sociologists. Although he revived the idea of a state of nature antecedent to organized society, which reappeared in the social contract theories of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, he did not hold to any theory of a golden age, but thought that there was an ideal family and private group organization prior to the formation of civil society by conquest. "After that force, violence, ambition, covetous-

ness and desire for revenge had armed one against another, the issues of wars and combats giving victory unto the one side, made the other to become unto them slaves. . . . Then that full and entire liberty by nature given to every man, to live as himself best pleased, was altogether taken away from the vanquished. . . . So the words of Lord and Master, of Prince and Subject, before unknown unto the world, were first brought into use. Yea, reason and the very light of nature leadeth us to believe very force and violence to have given course and beginning unto Commonweals. . . . Wherein it appeareth Demosthenes, Aristotle, and Cicero to have mistaken themselves, in following the error of Herodotus, who saith, That the first Kings were chosen for their justice and virtue; and have hereof feigned unto us I wot not what heroical and golden worlds: an opinion by me by most certain arguments and testimonies elsewhere repelled; seeing that the first Cities and Commonweals long before the time of Abraham were full of flaws" (*Op. cit.*, Book I, 6).

Political scientists consider Bodin's analysis of sovereignty, and especially his clear distinction between state, sovereignty, and government, as one of his major contributions. He thought sovereignty to be the supreme power exercised by a ruler over citizens and subjects, and that as a distinctive feature of the state it distinguished the state from other social groups, and placed it above "all ranks of societies and individuals" for civil peace. "Majestie or Sovereignty," he said, "is the most high, absolute, and perpetual power over the citizens and subjects in a Commonweale, unrestrained by law" (*Op. cit.*, Book I, 8). He defined a citizen as: "A free subject holding to the sovereignty of another man" (*Op. cit.*, Book I, 6), and was of the opinion that citizens must be free subjects, not slaves. He thought that the one thing citizens have in common is common subjection to sovereign authority.

There is considerable confusion in Bodin's analysis of sovereignty. His definition, quoted above: "the most high, absolute, and perpetual power," and elsewhere in his work, makes the ruler have absolute power and be the source of law. It was undoubtedly this notion of unlimited sovereignty initiated by Bodin which was so widely accepted later on for national states, and that created insuperable difficulties against the organization of a genuine international community and international law, to say nothing of any world government. The state, with the sovereignty that goes with it, was in his opinion indivisible by its very nature, and he said that the sovereign had unlimited, perpetual, unconditional right to make,

interpret and execute the law (Cf., *op. cit.*, Book I, 8; Book II, 7). He also said that "A sovereign prince is not subject unto the laws and ordinances that he himself maketh," though he counselled his obeying them out of courtesy (*Op. cit.*, Book I, 8). Yet elsewhere Bodin reiterated his opinion that the sovereign ruler was subject to the law of nature and the law of God (*Op. cit.*, Book I, 8; Book IV, 2; Book VI, 6). He said that the sovereign authority must keep agreements and respect private property. Property rights were viewed by Bodin as part of the natural law, and part of the family domain which the sovereign could not touch. He agreed with Aristotle in distinguishing between the *potestas* and *imperium* of the ruler, and the *dominium* of the father as head of the household (*Op. cit.*, Book I, 8). Unlike Machiavelli, Bodin did not discuss society with moral indifference. He placed moral though not legal limitations on sovereign authority, and he seems to have thought that although the one who makes the law is above the law, yet since the sovereign authority ought merely to establish by law what is right and necessary according to the moral law, he will usually obey it.

In Bodin's view the state could not vary in form, but governments could vary in the location of sovereignty. Following a well-worn tradition, he classified the various types of government on a purely numerical basis (*Op. cit.*, Book II, 1), one ruler, a monarchy; a few rulers, an aristocracy; all the people exercising authority, a democracy. As a result, he did not think a mixed form of government was possible. He took issue with Aristotle's notion of popular authority: "Wherefore let us conclude: That to be a popular state or Commonweale wherein the greater part of the people have sovereignty, whether the voices be given by tribes, companies, parishes, or communities. Yet Aristotle said: popular sovereignty is where the poorer sort of people have the sovereignty" (*Op. cit.*, Book II, 7). Analysing government, Bodin thought that its three functions were to rule, to counsel, and to fulfil orders. He held the view that a magistrate only had a limited share of public authority, because he made the final authority or sovereignty to be part of the state itself (*Op. cit.*, Book III, 5).

The final chapter of the *Republic* or *Commonweale* (Book VI, 6) is devoted to: "Of the three kinds of justice, Distributive, Commutative, and Harmonicall: and to what proportion they have unto an estate Royall, Aristocratique, and Popular." It will be immediately evident how much Bodin differed from Machiavelli in his outlook on the duties of rulers. Similarly, his idea of rewards and

punishments is based on justice and service rather than expediency of any kind. "If punishments and rewards be well and wisely distributed, the Commonweale shall be always happy and flourish, and contrariwise, if the good be not rewarded and the bad punished according to their deserts, there is no hope that a Commonweale can long continue" (*Op. cit.*, Book V, 4). "If their lives be polluted and wicked, they are not only to be rejected, but also to be punished. And rewards are to be distributed to good men, according to every man's merit" (*Op. cit.*, Book V, 4). Judges are especially exhorted to be just in their judgments and in the fees they charge (*Op. cit.*, Book VI, 6).

Bodin was not in favor of any narrow nationalism, for he cited the origin of the human race from Adam and Eve and advocated international amity and free exchange between countries, on the ground of common origin and mutual interdependence of peoples. He made some show of a study of language to trace the ages of different races, and concluded by dubious reasoning that the Jews were the most ancient "race" (*The Method*, Chapter 9). In Book Three, chapter eight of the *Republic*: "Of the orders and degrees of citizens," he analysed the class system.

In a chapter in the *Republic* on revolutions (Book IV, 1), Bodin has a cyclical theory of history, in which he thinks as Plato and Polybius did before him, that states like human beings are born, mature, decline, and die. He thought that these changes were not only due to acts of God but also to the movements of the heavenly bodies (cf., the sun spot theory of Jevons and others), and he thought that these, and also climate and topography, are important as contributory causes of all social and political change, including revolutions (*Op. cit.*, Book IV, 2).

Combining Plato's theory with the theories of Hippocrates, Strabo, Khaldun, Bodin divided the earth into six zones of latitude, three north from the equator and three south, each thirty degrees wide (*Op. cit.*, Book V, 1). He discussed the three northward zones and showed how the people differed in each in coloration and temperament. Those in the south, he said, are contemplative and religious, they develop great wisdom but they lack energy; they are like old men. Those in the north are like youth, active and strong, but not wise. Those in the middle zone, which included the French, represent the Aristotelian mean: they have the good qualities of the other two zones, he said, but were not given to excesses, were more prudent, versatile, and less cruel. He also discussed the effect of

longitude, stating that the people of the east are similar to those of the south, and those of the west participate in the nature of the north. Elevation, winds, fertility of the soil, location with reference to the sea, likewise affect the character of people, he thought, and hence that of nations (*Op. cit.*, Book V, 1; cf., also *The Method*, V). Yet he was not entirely a geographical determinist, for he believed in the power of education and the power of governmental enactments to alter the disposition of people (*Op. cit.*, Book VI, 1).

Bodin marks a transition period of thought from medieval to modern times. His work does not make easy reading. He was prolix, not always logical in his topical development, and often his conclusions are unscientific in the light of modern knowledge. He cannot be called a sociologist, but he did employ induction to some extent. This fact, coupled with the topics of which he treats, and his influence on later writers, makes his writings of more than passing interest to those concerned with the development of social theory.

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Constructive Influences Affecting American Family Life

RUTH REED

IN these years when the American Family is beset by a crisis in housing, when the divorce rate is rising, when new families are being established in the uncertain conditions of wartime displacements, when the unequal ratio between the sexes is producing an unwholesome social equilibrium it may seem to some good people that the person who is persistently hopeful is either purblind or an enemy of the social order. But a little perspective in history may serve us as ballast and enable us to see certain emerging social trends which promise well for the family when their influence has had time to make itself felt. Within the time limits of this paper there is opportunity for indicating only a few of the most outstanding of these trends in a brief and general way.

The Growth of the Social Conscience

Prominent among the social trends which promise relief to the family that is overburdened with economic problems of a type with which it is not equipped to deal is the slow but steady development of the social conscience or the sense of community responsibility in American life. During the days when individualism unlimited pervaded our social thinking, when the rugged individualist who stood in rags to receive his daily bread was regarded as a symbol of defeat, many of our social and collective failures were unloaded on the individual or dumped in the lap of the family for solution. Thus, the individual in his family setting who bore the brunt of community failure was regarded as the cause or the free agent of his own discomfort which it was his duty to bear. An example of this can be seen in the way in which the burden of industrial accident was unloaded onto the family. The family of the man who was employed in industry had no control over working conditions which might prove hazardous to him and yet if he were injured the members of his family were held responsible for his economic plight which was

in many cases caused by industry's carelessness. In like fashion the burden of unemployment was unloaded on the family long after the workman had lost control over the time and manner of his employment. Unemployment was in many cases obviously due to faulty social planning in which the head of the family had no voice but he and the other members of his family were nevertheless expected to bear the economic burden of unemployment. For the first six decades after the industrial revolution the costs of the progress which that movement represented were borne by those families at the lower end of the economic scale who were charged with the burden of its support and its failures. As a consequence, these families were so burdened with the costs of social progress and so hindered by the unwarranted load of economic problems that they could no longer perform the educational and spiritual functions of the family. Recent social legislation has removed from the family some of these unfair burdens and, while much remains to be desired, the outlook is nevertheless good, for the social conscience, once aroused, may be kept alert until a fuller measure of social justice is achieved. In such a case the family would be freed from its economic hazards to become that center of affection and spiritual life which would seem to represent its highest level of achievement.

The Social Value of the Child

Along with the belief that the family should be protected from the sharp edge of society's failures has come the increased recognition of the social functions which the family performs. In 1940 the United States had fewer children than it had in 1930. In New York City the number of children entering the first grade in 1940 had diminished to such a point that many primary teachers were no longer needed. The median age of our population is increasing; in a few more decades we shall be a stationary and then a declining population. The child has therefore achieved a scarcity value for on that child rests the whole burden of the transmission of our spiritual and cultural heritage. And yet a recent study shows that more than two-thirds of our children are being reared in one-half of the families that have the lowest income.¹ The argument that these families should be encouraged to have fewer children is obviously specious since this group of families are making a contribution to the

¹ T. J. Woofter, "Children and Family Security," *Social Security Bulletin*, March 1945.

social good so vital that the very existence of our civilization depends upon them. What these families need is a sound economic basis for their family life. There is some evidence that the social recognition of the family with children is increasing. The child is taken into account in social planning, for playgrounds, schools, and the social services. Family allowances have increased. Labor unions through concerted effort have in many instances forced the level of wages up to the point where standards of decency and even comfort can be maintained for the children of their members. In so doing they have rendered a service not only to themselves and their families but to society at large. But even so there is further need for the recognition of the greatest of all social services, the rearing and training of children to be good men and women and useful citizens. The family with children is not in need of a badge, or a publicity picture, or a sentimental eulogy. What is needed is sound social appreciation of the service which they have rendered society in the production of a superior sociological unit — the large family. For it is in such a unit that the individual has the maximum opportunity to achieve a sound social development, the realization of his highest potentialities through sharing with others the adventure of learning and doing and achieving. For the sorrow of life and the fun of it are not understood nor valued until they are shared, and the large family offers a rich and varied pattern for such social living and individual development. If social recognition of the family continues along present lines of soundness and realism, the family with children will be freed of its crushing economic burden; it will have a decent house to live in; space for the children to play and garden and keep pets, and educational opportunities commensurate with the ability of each. The old sneering, patronizing attitude toward the family with children will disappear when its full contribution to social life is recognized and when its economic disabilities are removed.

Education for Family Life

Another constructive influence which would seem to promise well for the future of the American family is the movement toward sound and realistic training for family life which is appearing in some of our schools. The fact that this education is begun so late in the training period as to affect only a minority of the students is regrettable but it is to be hoped that in time it can be extended further down in the school system. The notion that successful family life

needed no other foundation than that of romantic love has been somewhat dispelled by the high divorce rate. Sound economic preparation for family life which was a recognized part of preparation for marriage in pioneer days is again creeping into the mores. The furniture company which advertised "you furnish the girl and we will furnish the house" was not alone in its invitation to young persons to begin a new household on a foundation of debt. The young employed girl who considered herself well equipped for her approaching household duties because she had purchased a cook book and a can opener was only a product of our commercialized thinking but she is still with us. But the household arts and crafts are again being developed and taught and valued socially. The social value and the social prestige of home making are being recognized and enhanced by the place which family education is being given in our educational system. Spiritual preparation for family life is receiving greater emphasis too and the young person is being instructed in ways of achieving the good life as well as how to avoid the pitfalls of family living.

There are many other influences which there is not time to mention which tend to favor and strengthen family life today. Among our social institutions the family is the hardy perennial. Other social organizations evolve and grow and die and disappear but the family has always been with us and it seems destined to remain. For it seems based upon human impulses so ineradicable that efforts to eliminate the family have always failed. Young people are always optimistic about it. They do not fear to found a new family because they associate happiness with family living, and social records seem to show that they are right for there are many more marriages that succeed than there are those that fail. Because the young are always hopeful they want to be told that they will succeed and they want to learn the ways of success. In working with them, therefore, have we not a better chance to succeed when we emphasize the positive aspect of our training programs, i.e., the training for successful family living? For when we point to the perils and pitfalls and mistakes of life their youthful optimism will not permit them to believe us. For they are sure that such disasters will never happen to them, the road of life must surely lead to happiness for them, and they seek it with a faith and ardor which gives our social order that degree of stamina and vitality which it has today.

Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

NOTES OF SOCIOLOGICAL INTEREST

Foreign Publications

Catholic sociologists should be familiar with a French publication¹ which appears to be the most ambitious collaborative work undertaken by Catholics under the title of "sociology."

This fact justifies a notice of the *Dictionnaire de sociologie* in the REVIEW, even though a number of years has elapsed since the appearance of the first fascicles and its progress has been hindered by the War. It is uniform in format with the other great French Catholic *dictionnaires* such as the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, and the others. Like them it presents two columns to the page, printed in rather fine type. Like them it maintains a high level of scholarship. The pace of the contributors is unhurried; they consider all the aspects of their subjects. Thus such a specialized article as "Autorité dans la famille" runs to some 75,000 words — which is as large as a fair-sized book. Therefore the latest fascicle to appear, Fascicle 22 (the fourth in Volume IV) takes the reader only to the article "Cercles populaires."

¹ *Dictionnaire de sociologie familiale, politique économique, spirituelle, générale*. J. Jacquemet, editor. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1931-.

American readers will be surprised at the concept of sociology which the *Dictionnaire* presupposes. In a preface the editor defines the subject as "la science de l'être collectif, dans ses formes et dans ses origines." This does not sound so unconventional; but the interpretation it receives in the actual selection of articles is a bit unusual. By American standards many articles would belong quite definitely to some science other than sociology, for example, to economics ("Bimétallisme," "Bourse"), international law ("Belligérant," "Blocus"), anthropology (including many articles on specific tribes), military science ("Bataillon," "Cavalerie"), or to any of a number of other sciences. In addition there are quite a few articles which would seem more in place in a general encyclopedia than in a specialized work like this. Such, for instance, are articles on "Bibliographie," "Bibliothèque," and "Cartographie." On the other hand, the articles which some at least of the readers of the REVIEW might recognize as specifically sociological seem to be definitely in the minority. Many of these belong in the field of applied sociology and social action. Examples are articles on "Assistance publique," "Associations agricoles générales," "Bienfaisance," "Centre d'action sociale," and the

like. Perhaps the most valuable articles are those which treat of Catholic subjects. There is, for instance, a good article on "Catholicisme sociale"; the social thought of individual Catholic thinkers such as "Alexandre de Halès" is adequately treated; and the moral aspects of social issues are well handled.

The reviewer does not feel that this work is what the title implies, a dictionary of sociology. It is, however, an extremely valuable collection of background material for the sociologist. The work contains an enormous mass of data about customs, institutions, and groups among pre-civilized and civilized folk and such data can serve as raw material for sociological generalizations. In addition it is a first-rate source of Catholic social doctrine. It would be a useful addition to any large or medium-sized college library. Let us hope that the *Dictionnaire* will be completed without too much delay.

PAUL HANLY FURFEY

Catholic University of America,
Washington 17, D. C.

★ ★ ★

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth announces the publication of a "new sociological quarterly," *Christus Rex*. It will be edited by Doctors P. McKevitt and C. Lucey and can be obtained through the Newman Book Shop, Westminster, Maryland, American representative of the Mercier Press of Cork. Price: 2/6 per issue, 10/— per annual subscription.

The publishers have issued the following prospectus:

"We have much pleasure in announcing the publication of a new Sociological Quarterly, *CHRISTUS REX*. The first number is scheduled to appear in January 1947. It will be edited by Professors of Catholic Action and Social Ethics, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Among the contributors will be leading figures in Catholic Social Thought and Catholic Action in Eire and overseas.

"*CHRISTUS REX* has for its main purpose the "preparation of the way for a Christian renewal of the whole social life" as envisaged in the great Social Encyclicals. This preparation entails making the teaching of the Encyclicals better known, and suggesting the concrete measures calculated to translate that teaching into practice in the various fields of social life, economic, political, domestic, cultural and recreational. In addition to Articles and Book Reviews, there will be two regular features from the pens of two competent authorities, namely *A Survey of Sociological Literature and Matters of Interest* (a commentary from the standpoint of Catholic theology and sociology on current events at home and abroad). The journal is intended for all interested in social reform — clergy and laity alike — though it will deal in particular with the problems facing priests. An important part of its policy will be to encourage priests to contribute articles treating of actual conditions and problems of their parishes based on their own pastoral experience.

"The need for concrete, workable measures to relieve unem-

ployment, over-crowding, form-filling and the other evils, big and small, that press so heavily upon us today is obvious. Not so, perhaps, the need for high social thinking, Christian charity, natural rights, the importance of the home and the rest. CHRISTUS REX admits that high thinking is no substitute for active reforming. But it insists that reform needs the guidance of sound principle to be really fundamental — good intentions are no guarantee that the measures emanating from them will not make bad

worse in the long run. This journal, therefore, will never regulate principles to second place, because it will sponsor only practice that measures up to the Catholic standard.

"We are witnessing the end of laissez-faire. The era of "planned society" is upon us. But planned for what? For national aggrandisement? For material prosperity? For good Christian living? The answer depends on ourselves. That is why CHRISTUS REX has a message for each and every one of us."

NEWS OF SOCIOLOGICAL INTEREST

The American Catholic Sociological Society at its eighth annual convention in Chicago, December 28, 1946, elected the following officers for 1947:

Most Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, *honorary president*; Very Rev. Leo Robinson, S.J., *president*; Clement S. Mihanovich, 1st vice-president; Sister Leo Marie, O.P., 2nd vice-president; Rev. Ralph A. Gallagher, S.J., *executive-secretary*.

Sister Agnes Claire, O.S.B., A. H. Clemens, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Luigi Ligutti, Edward Marciniak, Very Rev. Msgr. Robert B. Navin, Margaret M. Toole, and Rev. David Twomey, S.J., *members of the executive council*.

★ ★ ★

The financial report presented and approved at the convention was as follows:

American Catholic Sociological Society, financial statement, December 28, 1945 to December 20, 1946.

Balance, December 28, 1945

With book review editor	\$ 5.37	
With executive-secretary	39.17	\$ 44.54
<i>Income</i> , Cleveland convention		80.20
<i>Income</i> , dues and subscriptions		1499.03
		<hr/> 1623.77
<i>Deficit</i> , 12/20/46	\$217.25	
less returnable deposit at hotel	100.00	
cash on hand with book review editor	5.77	111.48
		<hr/> \$1735.25

Expenses:

Miscel.	\$ 3.15
Cleveland convention	75.00
Printing	1023.75
Supplies	16.10
Telephone and Telegrams	54.12
Stamps	161.53
Book review expense	13.60
Clerical expense	388.00
	<hr/> \$1735.25

Trinity College (Washington): Eva J. Ross has translated and adapted Father Robert Kothén's *Vers Une Mystique Familiale* under the title: *Marriage, the Great Mystery*. The book will be published by the Newman Bookshop, Westminster, Md., early in 1947.

★ ★ ★

Villanova College: Father Vincent A. McQuade, O.S.A., has been named president of the new college to be conducted by the Order of St. Augustine in Andover, Mass.

★ ★ ★

Mercy High School (Chicago): Sister M. Attracta, R.S.M., was cited by the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination "for suggesting class assignments on racial restrictive covenants in an area of racial tension." Sister M. Attracta's work was listed as one of the "ten victories for democracy in Chicagoland in 1946."

★ ★ ★

St. Mary's College (Kansas): The Queen's Work *Semester Outline* for the current academic year carries an "interracial program" that should be of interest to all sociology teachers. The "program" was prepared by the Race Relations Conference of St. Mary's and recently reprinted in the December 1946 issue of *Interracial Review*.

★ ★ ★

Grand Rapids, Michigan: Bishop Francis J. Haas is working on a revised edition of his *Man and Society*.

James E. Hagerty, 1869-1946

James E. Hagerty, a charter member of the American Catholic Sociological Society, died November 10, 1946 in Columbus, Ohio, at the age of seventy-seven. Dr. Hagerty was former professor of economics and sociology, and dean of the College of Commerce at Ohio State University.

A native of Indiana, he studied at the Universities of Indiana, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania and began teaching at Ohio State in 1901. Dr. Hagerty retired in 1940 when he was given the degree of Doctor *honoris causa* by Ohio State.

He was president of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems from 1928-37, the author of a financial history of Indiana and several volumes on crime and social work, and appeared on the program of the American Catholic Sociological Society's convention in Cleveland in 1942. Dr. Hagerty was married and the father of five children.

Requiem aeternam dona ei Domine: et lux perpetua luceat ei.

BOOK REVIEWS*

Editor:

EVA J. ROSS, Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.

The Masters and the Slaves. By Gilberto Freyre. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1946. Pp lxxi+537+xlx. \$7.50.

This is an amazing book. It would be probably but a slight exaggeration to say that it belongs to the immortal class of Humboldt's *New Spain*, Tocqueville's *Democracy*, Leroy-Beaulieu's *Russia*, Rivers' *Melanesia*, or Taine's *England*. It is, in any case, the best book ever written on Brazil.

It is thus the best book on the strangest and most complex civilization that has ever sprouted from the tree of Europe. For this civilization is the only one that has ever succeeded in stabilizing itself in the tropics. It is also the only one which, for almost all points of view, could be called anomalous. Yet it is an anomaly of a very specific kind. Despite all drawbacks, this Brazilian civilization points to the solution of problems with which other civilizations are hopelessly wrestling.

Brazil is one of the very few countries in the world that has solved the race question. As this question in fifty years, or thereabout, may become a very thorny-one (even more important than all industrial indices together), Brazil may not only prove to be immune against all forms of racism (as, to a minor degree, some other Latin-American countries, too); but may also belong to those very few Christian nations which will be able to save their cultural inheritance for an unknown future. Accordingly, to study the social situation of Brazil is of vital importance.

Why did Brazil succeed where most of the others failed? Gilberto Freyre gives the answer: "In Brazil the unbeliever Fustel de Coulanges . . . felt himself under the necessity of being a Catholic out of sentiment of nationalism. This, moreover, was the attitude of Oliveira Lima who, lacking a more ardent religious ideal, once declared himself to be a "historic Catholic" (p. 41, note 100). And one page later: "Sylvia Romero observes that in Brazil it was

* Members who wish to review books are invited to write to Miss Ross, stating their special fields of interest. Specific books should be asked for, if possible, with full details of title, author, and publisher. These should be of recent publication and within the scope of sociology or a closely allied subject.

the catechism of the Jesuits and the Ordinances of the Realm that guaranteed from the earliest times the unity of religion and the law" (p. 42). In other words, miscegenation was not only sanctioned by law, but also by society: and society did sanction it, because even an unbeliever had, "out of a sentiment of nationalism," or for "historical" reasons, to behave like a Catholic.

Freyre, whether personally faithful or not to his religion, has from the beginning the right approach to the whole question. As a Catholic, he looks first for the metaphysical foundations before he starts to penetrate the culture-jungle of his country.

He does it in an admirable manner. Using the metaphysical fundamentals as a strategical base, so to speak, he is even able to operate from that base and to rove about in provinces far away. In all his sometimes dangerous excursions he never gets lost. Even after speaking about sexual aberrations, he finds his way back easily. It is due, perhaps, to this almost novelistic adventuring that the book, on many pages, displays that dramatic element which has always been an outstanding criterion of great books. It is, however, due also to the homeric battle-array which is the core of the work: to the battle between a few giants and millions of colored people, or the battle of masters and slaves.

According to Freyre, it is possible to reduce the whole cultural history of Brazil to this antithesis. The Church, with very few exceptions, was not a third power working as umpire and as check on both the others, but had a rather unique position in the struggle. "In Brazil the place of the cathedral or church, more powerful than the king, was taken by the plantation Big House. Our society, like that of Portugal, was shaped by a solidarity of ideals or religious faith . . . but the church that affected our social development was not the cathedral with its bishops . . . nor the monastery or abbey . . . (but rather) the plantation chapel" (p. 193). In other words, not a few of the clergy reflected their chaotic environment. Only the Jesuits, who had founded everywhere their Indian villages remained beyond this opposition fighting furiously against the big landowner with whom the rest of the clergy was more or less allied. "The Jesuit system . . . possibly the most efficient force for technical Europeanization and intellectual and moral culture in its effect upon the natives . . . obtained its greatest success in Brazil" (p. 78). It was the Jesuits, too, who, despite all temptations produced by this strange social array, remained "uncompromisingly virginal" (p. 446).

It is certainly easy to break the rod of criticism over the heads of many of the other priests. But even doing this one should pay, at least, some attention to the cataclysm in which they were involved. It was a cataclysm, indeed, even worse than an earthquake which, even if very rough, may last for only two minutes. But this one lasted for two centuries, and more. It was an event that fits rather into the category of nature than of culture: and this, not only because of its cataclysmic feature, but also because of its outcome. It

was a cataclysm produced by the antagonism of two, even three, foreign races; of white and black and red; of giants and servants, of capital and labor, or "economic and cultural antagonisms . . . of antagonisms between European culture and native culture . . . between the African and the native . . . between agrarian and pastoral economies . . . between Catholic and heretic . . . landed proprietor and pariah"; but "predominantly" it was "between master and slave" (p. 79). And the result of this cataclysm produced a new kind of element of nature, a kind of new race, or, better, a new society created through licentious miscegenation.

I have already admitted to the unfortunate but natural influence of such conditions upon some of the clergy. But this is not the interesting fact. The interesting fact is rather that the Church, despite these sinners, remained victorious: and has to be considered, undoubtedly, as the founder of that society. "One thing is certain, and that is that the bulk of colonial society throughout the 16th and 17th century was founded and developed upon the basis of widespread and deep-going mixture of races that only the interference of the Jesuit Fathers kept from becoming an open libertinism by regularizing it to a large extent through the sacrament of Christian marriage" (p. 85).

The book presents these amazing facts with a richness of observation, insight, printed and unprinted material, guiding ideas, tentative hypotheses, criticisms, good taste and even humor, all seemingly inexhaustible. One sometimes forgets that he is reading a scientific book. One is more than once reminded of Balzac, Proust, Defoe, Grimmshausen, de Coster, Dostoievski and others who have also been able to provide us with the frame for a whole century. Delightfully, one gets lost in this world which, despite its often macabre appearances, is not a underworld but rather the one that can be observed within a half hours' drive beyond the city limits of Rio. It is the world of virgin forests, of human forests, of that nature which was, and always will be, the same. It is this picture of human nature, this almost Shakespearean picture, drawn by a scientific pencil, that makes Freyre's book so captivating, and makes it even possible to compare it with great poetic works.

It would be easy to give a list of little mistakes and even contradictions in this book and those with respect to the work of the Jesuits are, perhaps, the most astonishing ones (cf. pp. 103, 159, etc.); but it would be unjust to the whole which, as a whole, is above picayune reproach.

The translation from the Portuguese by Samuel Putnam, in keeping with the excellence of the book itself.

LEON L. MATTHIAS

St. Michael's College, Winooski Park, Vermont

Population in Modern China. By Ta Chen. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. Pp. viii+126. \$2.50.

This book represents a demographic study of China. The study does not cover the whole of China but only includes ten regional censuses, covering a wide geographical area, containing 3,170,555 persons and 9.718.19 square kilometers. The statistics deduced from these ten censuses are presented as somewhat representative of the trends in the whole of China. This procedure is justified with reservations.

Ta Chen has given us one of the most interesting and valuable studies in contemporary demography. His work indicates that a complete census of China will contribute to exploding a mountain of myths that have accumulated around China's population. For instance (although the author would not agree with the reviewer) Ta Chen gives one the impression tht overpopulation, rapid growth of population, and an excessively high birth rate are not characteristic of modern China. This may be attested to by the following summary of the major points discussed in Ta Chen's book: There is no unusually high preponderance of males over females (p. 18); Chinese live a shorter span of life than Americans (p. 22); Average size of family is only 4.84 persons (p. 23); Average density in agricultural areas is 280.4 persons per sq. kilometer (p. 24); In 1934, the national birth rate was 38.0 per 1000 population (p. 29); In 1934, the national death rate was estimated to be 33.0 (p. 32) and the rate of natural increase of the population was 5.0 persons per 1000 population per year; About 2 percent of the population is physically or mentally defective (p. 37); The age at marriage was 19.5 years for males and 17.6 years for females (p. 42); In the period 206 B.C.—A.D. 1933 there were 1,057 droughts and 1,030 floods in China (pp. 36-37).

Possibly the most interesting and significant chapter is the one on *Migration* (Chapter VI) which throws a bright light on the causes, extent, characteristics and effects of pre-war, war and post-war migration. A study of this chapter will reveal the possible future of China, the paths that it will follow, should follow or can follow toward greater integration and unity. It is a minor classic in demography.

It is regrettable that the author found it necessary to introduce his own opinions, not necessarily warranted by his statistics, on pages 76 and 77 by advocating sterilization, planned parenthood and the general principles of the eugenisists as means of relieving some of China's problems.

On the whole the book represents a far step in clarifying China's population problems. It must be read by all students and teachers interested in population problems. The methodology employed and described in the book is of special interest to all demographers.

No one will have a complete sociological understanding of China without this book.

C. S. MIHANOVICH

St. Louis University, St. Louis 3, Mo.

Minority Problems in the Public Schools: A Study of Administrative Policies and Practices in Seven School Systems. By Theodore Brameld. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946. Pp. 264. \$2.50.

This volume is the fourth study of the Bureau of Intercultural Education Publication Series and is written for educators and citizens who wish to see "the development of democratic human relations among different racial, religious, nationality, and socio-economic groups in our schools." The study was financed by the Julius Rosenwald Fund and is concerned with public school administrative practices and policies in the intercultural field. No such over-all examination of these policies and practices has previously been attempted.

Seven educational Middletowns were selected for investigation and given the fictitious but descriptive names of Massopolis, Permantown, Transfield, Faircroft, Hermosa, Dynaboro, and Copperberg. Six of the cities are in the northern half of the United States and one is on the "border line" between the North and the South. The population range given is from 20-25,000 in Hermosa to over 1,000,000 in Massopolis.

The plan of study included initial conferences with school superintendents and their immediate associates, a detailed questionnaire analysis, interviews with representative citizens of the community, and visits to the schools. There is a chapter on each of the seven cities and a condensed synthesis of the entire study in chart form which follows the outline of each chapter: first, community setting; second, school systems; third, administrative practices and policies — their significance for intercultural relations; fourth, evaluations; and fifth, specific recommendations.

The author, Dr. Brameld, a professor of educational philosophy actively identified with the John Dewey tradition, is influenced in his evaluations by the "liberal" conception of democracy. There is a wealth of factual information about minority group problems in the seven cities and the author gives a realistic description of dangerous tensions in the communities and their effect on the school systems. In connection with this study something should be said about the intercultural education movement in general. In so far as intercultural education is aimed at the destruction of racial and class prejudices and genuine religious bigotry it deserves the wholehearted support of Catholics. However, there are certain dangers involved due to the religious philosophy of some of the leaders of the movement who assume that all religions are of equal value and also certain practices in connection with the inter-faith educational projects which are objectionable. For a detailed discussion of these dangers see Benard's article "The 'Meaning' of the Springfield Plan" in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* of January 1946.

The situation can be well summed up in Benard's words: "Catholics themselves must welcome any program tending to eliminate tensions and antagonisms among individuals of different racial stocks

The Catholic Church, as the very name denotes, is a universal Church, confined by no racial, national, or political boundaries." On the other hand as Benard states: "No Catholic can in conscience participate in a movement which, in theory or in practice, explicitly or implicitly, creates the impression that all religions are equally true and equally good, and that, denominational differences being unimportant, all churches are equally entitled to be regarded as the Church of God. Thus, no Catholic can subscribe, or appear by silence to assent, to a philosophy of religious indifferentism: if such a philosophy underlies any program in which he is asked to participate, he must beg to be excused."

MARY ELIZABETH WALSH

Catholic University, Washington 17, D. C.

Voluntary Social Services. Edited by A. F. C. Bourdillon, London: Methuen & Co., 1945. Pp. 322. 16 shillings.

Under the present Labor Party more plans for socialized service on the government level are being inaugurated. Consequently, this survey of the rôle of the voluntary or privately organized agencies is very timely. In a system whereby the government assumes more and more responsibility, does the private agency thereby become obsolete, ineffectual or insignificant? This study does more than rescue the private agency and determine the value of its contribution to the period of reconstruction. It traces the complex social forces of the past century, the individual social reformer, the Evangelical church, trade unionism, Toryism, the Mutual Aid movements and relates the usefulness of free privately organized social services in a modern democratic state.

This is undoubtedly one of the aspects of the survey which will be special interest to many people in America. The chaotic days of our own post-war reconstruction era follows some of the same trends as the nation seeks a re-emphasis of individual and group freedom and private initiative again reasserts itself.

The book as a whole points up three main aspects of the problem: the development of social theory upon which the entire bulwark of social thought and social welfare is based, the present day trends growing out of the war-time economy and social welfare development as well as the old private organizations, and finally a prognostication of the future of all voluntary services, granted a democratic form of government.

Since there are several authors, the book lacks at times complete uniformity. Some parts of chapters, through the use of a multitude of alphabetical abbreviations, lose clarity, particularly to persons unfamiliar with the agencies in question. Certain chapters stand out both by analytical content and brilliant presentation; the historical retrospect, the case work development, and the summary.

The total picture presented by this study has a more inclusive range of services than is usually included under our term "social

service," at least in its common usage. There is no restriction to a professional level but rather the whole gamut of social thinking and social movements are included. However, it should prove to be a thought provoking experience for both sociologists and social workers to examine this English work which pictures a development similar in many ways to the American post-war scene. The very differences make the similarities more impressive, and the result is rather equivalent to conducting an experiment under two different environments.

The weight of tradition and the centuries of social experiments with the aim of irradiating pauperism, makes the infusion of new ideas spread more slowly in the English situation. On the other hand, the mobility and flux found in the freer and quicker tempo of life in America tends toward social fads that overbalance common sense. In its own sphere, among the social thinkers of both countries, this book should serve as a bridge for further exploration and discussion.

JEAN F. HEWITT

*National Catholic Welfare Conference, Youth Department,
Washington 5, D. C.*

The Servile State. By Hilaire Belloc. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1946. Pp. xxvii+189. \$2.50.

The various agrarian movements in the United States owe much to the English Distributists, especially Belloc and Chesterton. The fundamental Distributist principle — the necessity for widespread ownership of productive property — has been taken over by the Southern Agrarians, the Decentralists, the Catholic rural life leaders, and others. Yet the first American edition of *The Servile State*, the classic Distributist analysis of the trend of our times, has just been published, thirty-four years after the English edition. It had to wait, as Dr. Christian Gauss explains in his introduction, until we had been shaken from our complacency by a bewildering amount of social and economic legislation and had begun to realize that capitalism is not a self-regulating system and that we in truth have a proletariat.

The Servile State is a tightly woven argument about the social implications of a single principle: "to control the production of wealth is to control human life itself" (p. 11). Belloc, relying almost exclusively upon the deductive method, isolates the question of human freedom and its relationship to the methods of controlling the means of production. His reasoning is that while pagan civilizations took slavery as part of the natural law, Christianity effected a gradual change and that the Distributist State was largely achieved in medieval times. The great majority of men were economically free through the possession of capital and land and thus were able to enjoy true liberty. Then capitalism, made possible by the Reformation and appearing before the Industrial Revolution, began the

process of dispossessing men, leaving them no opportunity but to sell their labor or starve. But the capitalist state "in proportion as it grows perfect grows unstable" (p. 81), for it combines proletarianism (thus, insecurity) with political freedom. An equilibrium is inevitable. One solution is the restoration of property. Another is the Collectivist State in which property is administered exclusively by the politicians. Such a state has never existed and at present the socialists and capitalists are both willing to prevent its existence. They are building instead the Servile State in which the capitalists keep control but concede security to the proletarians. In return, the many are constrained by positive law to labor for the few. The ever-growing mass of social legislation is evidence of the compromise.

Obviously Mr. Belloc's analysis is provocative. Has freedom been the price of security under capitalism? What about freedom of mobility? Of choice of occupation? Of choice of goods which can be purchased from wages? Of educational opportunity? Belloc sticks to his point: the apparent freedoms are superficial; basically the proletarians are being enslaved to a system over which they have no control and for which they are ultimately compelled to work. Certainly events since 1912 testify to the keenness of Belloc's vision. It can be granted, however, that it is too early to prove inductively that Beveridge plans and Social Security Acts spell the end of freedom.

Events have also shown that Mr. Belloc underestimated several forces. He rejected the idea that Western civilization might revert to pagan slavery; yet there has been Nazism in his lifetime and Europe is not free of fear of such slavery now. In his Preface to the 1927 English edition, he declared that the Soviet Union, far from establishing a Collectivist State, had "on the contrary produced a State the vast bulk of which . . . have, by it, been confirmed as peasant owners" (p. xvii). That statement might need some modification. Finally, he gave no indication of foreseeing that labor unions might grow to the political and economic power which they have today, a power which, for the present at least, has kept a fair degree of freedom for the proletariat and still increased security. But insofar as it causes one to think about the consequences of capitalist and socialist theory, as well as of "cradle to the grave" programs, *The Servile State* is as fresh today as when it was written.

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Relief and Social Security. By Lewis Meriam. Washington: The Brookings Institutions, 1946. Pp. 912. \$5.00.

Relief and Social Security represents a tremendous amount of research. Meriam presents his results in three sections. In Part I he treats the evolution of the social welfare programs since the depression of the last decade, both those that have been terminated and those that are still in operation. He analyses them and points out their weaknesses. In Part II Meriam discusses the British social se-

curity program as proposed since the famous Beveridge Report and the New Zealand social security system. In Part III he crystallizes what he considers the major issues of today from the point of (a) social considerations, (b) cost problems, and (c) administrative problems.

This book is an excellent compilation of facts — often of material not easily accessible to the student, and its publication might therefore be welcomed. It would have been worthwhile to point in one volume to the well known shortcomings of our total social security program, such as the lack of complete coverage as to risks and population groups in social insurance, and the various inadequacies in our public assistance programs, and from an overall point of view their lack of coordination.

But many will find serious objections to this study. They will object to the thinking underlying the presentation. They will see in it the thinking of the horse and buggy days, the thinking of the Elizabethan poor law times. The use of modern terminology does not do away with this fact. The author expresses his opinion strongly about the constitutionality of certain programs. He seems to ignore the fact that during the past ten years any number of reliable public opinion polls have brought out in no uncertain percentages that the American people want the social insurances. They want them improved and broadened, not eliminated. Their preference is social insurance and not tax supported public assistance. In his revolutionary encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, Pope Leo XIII stated way back in 1891, "... the limits of private possession have been left to be fixed by man's own industry and the laws of individual peoples."

The facts Meriam presents against social insurance can well be used for very different conclusions. They might indicate that the scope of coverage needs broadening in order to make it comprehensive, that in a number of specific areas the system is in need of improvements. Many of these suggestions have been incorporated into bills presented to Congress, particularly in the more widely known Wagner-Murray-Dingell bills. Such developments would be in keeping with the thinking of the majority of the American people and the basic principles of democratic government about which Meriam is so concerned.

The social security system which the author advocates is a comprehensive means test with a general public assistance scheme. Although he insists that his system will not have the obnoxious features of the Elizabethan Poor Law, he takes us right back to it. In his suggestions for determining need he applies by implication the principle of "lesser eligibility" of over one hundred years ago. He also advocates the principles of relative responsibility, the use of property liens irrespective of the fact that modern thinking is getting away from them because their administration has proven to be uneconomical, because they prevent many a needy person from asking for help and also because they have brought about many a family break-up. Amazing is the suggestion that persons in need of such

assistance will be under the strict supervision of public officials in regard to their way of living so that it will conform to what these same public officials believe in becoming to the needy. (Meriam does not use the word pauper!) A two class society would be well on the way if such a means test general public assistance program would ever become operative.

The book is worth while reading in order to know, to paraphrase Jacob Riis, How the Other Half THINKS.

KATHERINE RADKE

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Nowhere was Somewhere; How History Makes Utopias and How Utopias Make History. By Arthur E. Morgan. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. 234. \$2.50.

Certainly there is a contradictory and provocative note in the title of this study of utopias. Indeed one may say that the reproduction in the end papers of the detail from the Waldseemüller map of 1507, first to include the name America, primarily attracts attention that continues throughout the book. Its well-designed format is most welcome to eyes weary of the inferior paper and printing of the war years.

After stating his views on utopia, a term used to include governmental plans or designs for social amelioration of human society, Mr. Morgan develops his thesis in Part I, "Nowhere was Somewhere," and in Part II, "The Utopian Tradition."

In the Introduction Mr. Morgan advances the opinion shared by others that our constitution felt the molding hand of utopian writers and political economists. Particularly he alludes to the importance of Harrington's *Oceana* (1656) not only to the federal constitution but also to the constitutions of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia and New York in the separation of executive, legislative and judicial functions. He remarks also upon the influence of Bellamy's *Looking Backward* in the Nationalist and Populist doctrines as well as in the "cross of gold" speech by William Jennings Bryan. To the reading of *Looking Backward* the author traces some of the New Deal public policy. A striking fact to the investigator is that in initial stages utopias are not fictional, revelatory or even logical expressions but are to some degree real records of human experience. Too little consideration has been given attempts to glimpse a good society. Partially at least the tools of imitation and adaptation plus analysis and design have served to facilitate a view of a happy harmonious state.

Such was *Utopia*. Actually the book was composed of two separate works: a criticism of English government and society and a story of a strange land. The strange land according to Mr. Morgan may well have been the magnificent empire of the Incas or Peru. In the chapters entitled "Model for Utopia," "On the Trail of Utopian Sources," "Non-Utopian Parallels" and "Hythloday, First Naviga-

tor" the author elucidates his theory in pages that catch somehow despite their careful, objective and scientific style, the picturesque adventures of a romantic past. In the second part he examines "The Origins of Utopia," "The Golden Age," "Characteristics and Use of Utopias," "Why Utopias Fail," and "Beyond Utopia."

Back to Aristophanes' *The Ecclesiazusae* or *Women in Parliament* from which Mr. Morgan quotes liberally; beyond to Lycurgus' plan for Sparta; to Hesiod's poems and Homer's songs; and finally to the folktale go the origins of Utopia. To a review of Old Testament writers and those of the near East the author adds a brief treatment of far Eastern philosophers and writers plus material on the Scandinavian and pre-Columbian American heritage. For centuries each generation has listened avidly to stories of the golden past when an ideal society interacted harmoniously or has harkened to tales of primitive men and women whose existence seemed ideal. From *Works and Days* to *Equality* utopians have demonstrated a desire to refine and modify human beings and their ways of thinking and doing in order to achieve an eugenic society.

There are specific characteristics and utility in utopias. To Mr. Morgan, "Every intelligent and active-minded person is to some degree a utopian" (p. 155), and "Utopias are among the chief sources of suggestion for the social engineer. At their best they represent the essence of the world's thought regarding the possibilities of human society" (p. 156). Absence of unanimity on social aims prevents real perfection in society. "Therefore the great social need today is not that men shall agree on a single type of social organization, but that they shall come to recognize principles of integrity, mutual respect, tolerance, and local autonomy combined with interdependence, which will make possible a continuing process of social experiment and exploration without destructive conflict" (p. 158).

Utopias fail because of overemphasis upon unity or dilution or neglect to get harmony between men and their aims or because of a belief in a kind of perpetual motion for utopias once begun.

Although we appear advanced technologically in the first half of the twentieth century, Mr. Morgan believes that "We are as yet in the dim morning twilight of social science (p. 157). A glance at the headlines of an evening metropolitan daily substantiates his opinion. No one design for living offered by writer or scientist has yet solved our vital problems save a religious one. And still men strive to improve their lot. As Mr. Morgan says, "The drive to realize an ideal is a universal, inherent characteristic of life itself. Since man cannot read the minds of other animals, he may claim to be the sole possessor of conscious design for his future, having a monopoly of visions of a good society in a good world. We might define man as the animal that makes utopias" (p. 110).

To Catholic sociologists man's hope for better days derives from the struggle for the kingdom of God, a fact overlooked by Mr. Morgan. Yet *Nowhere was Somewhere* with its survey of utopian literature supplemented by the author's views on utopias is enter-

taining as well as instructive. It provides good reference material for the sociology student as well as for the ubiquitous man in the street.

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The Great Retreat: The Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia. By Nicholas S. Timasheff. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1946. Pp. 470. \$5.00.

What makes this volume unique is that it presents a systematic sociological study of Russian Communist society viewed dynamically over the entire period from 1917 to 1945. As such, the author's main purpose is to *explain* the transformation of a great society from an empirical study of the social factors operating in that area.

Dr. Timasheff first offers a hypothesis to explain the course of events, and then proceeds to attempt its verification by adducing all the relevant facts. The hypothesis is that a Utopian doctrine of social organization (the Marxist ideology) was imposed by force upon traditional Russian culture, with which it was at every point of contact in sharp conflict. The result of this collision has been a series of shocks, varying in intensity according to the intensity with which the rulers at various stages of the experiment set about the task of imposing their doctrine. The first all-out effort to communize Russia took place in 1917-1921. Then Lenin, seeing the social upheaval caused by the impact of an alien culture upon the Russian people, relented and returned to a more or less traditional economic system.

After his death in 1924 his successors, notably Stalin, began to fear that a capitalistic economic system would undermine their effort to transform Russian society according to the Communist pattern. Given the Marxist assumption of the primacy of economic causes in social organization, this was a consistent inference. But it was impossible to rally the people around the standard of the kind of Communism which had created chaos in 1917-1921, so the rulers unfurled the new banner of a planned economy and succeeded, by and large, in promoting a new crusading spirit during the period of the Five-Year Plans, 1928-1934.

While the second Five-Year Plan was in mid-career, however, a powerful outside influence compelled Stalin to relent in this "Second Communist Offensive." This disturbance was the rise of Hitler. The possibility of establishing "socialism on one country," which Stalin first formulated in 1925, thereupon disappeared. Oddly enough (from a Marxist point of view) the impossibility did not spring from the animosity of bourgeois capitalist countries, however, but from the threat of National Socialism in Germany. To unify and strengthen Russia for the expected attack, Stalin therefore entered upon what Timasheff calls "the Great Retreat." In every sector of social organization, though more slowly in religion than in

everything else, the Utopians had again to make concessions severely at variance with their doctrine. Timasheff's story ends with 1945. Has not the curtain raised on a new phase of Soviet domestic and foreign policy?

A whole library of extremely well-documented information supports the thesis of the book, which is equipped with charts, statistical and chronological tables, and separate indices of persons and topics. Because of its instructive value, the work affords unusual satisfaction of a textbook for upper-division and adult classes, although it demands intellectual effort to grasp.

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Soviet Asia Mission. By Henry A. Wallace. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1946. Pp. 254. \$3.00.

The Great Globe Itself. By William C. Bullitt. New York: Scribner, 1946. Pp. v+310. \$2.75.

Almost simultaneously, two members of the New Deal, Henry A. Wallace and William C. Bullitt, have published books on Soviet Russia. The former's book is a report on a short mission to the Asiatic part of Russia (May-July 1944). The latter's book is a discussion of Soviet foreign politics in the postwar world. Naturally, it is based not on direct observation, but on a careful study of official and unofficial publications, but the author's personal knowledge of Russia, acquired in the course of two missions, first, as President Wilson's personal emissary in 1919 and, second, as the first American Ambassador to the Soviet Union after recognition (1933-36), has greatly contributed to the interpretation of the facts.

As members of the same political team, the two men must have a common outlook on political affairs, and both have seen Russia. But their reports are in diametrical opposition to one another. Wallace speaks of the great achievements accomplished in Siberia and Central Asia under the Soviets, as usual, ignoring the good start made before the Revolution and sometimes relying on wrong statistics obviously supplied by the Soviets. Bullitt denounces the plan of world domination inspiring the Kremlin leaders and bitterly regrets Roosevelt's mistaken belief that he could teach democracy to Stalin and orientate the latter's policy toward goals common with those of the United States. Wallace insists on more mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States, which he would foster by exchanging students and scientific achievements. Bullitt suggests a federation of European democracies which could include several German states and, above it, a Defense League of Democracies comprising the Inter-American League, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the European federation and China.

The two plans are equally inapplicable: Wallace's plan because the Soviets do not want their peoples to know too much about democracies; and Bullitt's plan because the European democracies, first of

all France, are not inclined to join a federation in which the Soviets would recognize the hateful Western bloc and which, perhaps, they would attack before it becomes a reality — at least this is what the Europeans think.

But why this divergence of views between Wallace and Bullitt? It is well known that Bullitt does no longer stand where he was in the thirties. But this is not the main cause. The real cause of the divergence is this: Wallace speaks of the Russian people whom he has seen in remote areas where the grasp of Communism, according to all reports, is weaker than in the center; he has personally observed their hospitality, their laudable efforts to bring their country forward, their eagerness to enjoy life, their genuine interest in those culture achievements which are available to them. Bullitt has directly contacted the Communist top and later on concentrated his attention on its sordid foreign policy. The difference is approximately the same as the one stated by Pope Pius XI who distinguished between the Russian people whom he loved, and their Communist tenets which he never stopped condemning.

It is noteworthy that Bullitt emphasizes that there is no real conflict of interests between the Russian people and the Western democracies: the conflict is between the Western world and the Communist leaders who dominate the Russian people in the framework of a totalitarian dictatorship.

All the trouble is therefore due to the existence of that dictatorship. If and when it falls, the Russian people will help build up a decent postwar world. So long as this dictatorship lasts, no real peace, no solution of the great problems of our day is possible.

The two books are well written and should be read by all students of contemporary Russia. Bullitt's book contains three valuable appendixes on the violations of international law by the Soviet government, on the fluctuation of the views of the American Communist Party depending on changes in Soviet policy, and on Stalin's views on the international revolution.

N. S. TIMASHEFF

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The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America. By John Tracy Ellis. Washington: American Catholic Historical Association, 1946. Pp. xiv+415. \$3.00.

The Catholic University of America has been fortunate in the chronicling of its early years. To the Reverend Doctor Tracy Ellis, Associate Professor of American Church History at the Catholic University of America, the undertaking was evidently one that appealed to his heart as well as to his head. More than three years of research were devoted to the work, but the result, judged by the most exacting standards, amply justifies the effort expended.

One of the most difficult tasks facing the author was the one of giving to each of those responsible for the launching of the Catholic

University of America the proper share of credit. This was far from easy, as the attitudes of some of the participants changed from time to time. Some were contributing ideas; others were concerned with the practical measures that had to be taken if the institution were to become more than a dream. Especially difficult to determine was the amount of credit to be given to Bishop Spalding of Peoria, to Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, and to Bishop Keane of Richmond. Only less slightly difficult was the ascertaining of credit to be given to several others, and at the same time due recognition had to be accorded the fact that some members of the hierarchy were not in favor of establishing the university. The appraisal has been carefully made. No spirit of hero worship vitiates the pages; likewise no "whipping boy" has been selected to receive the blame for the failure of the promoters to reach every desirable objective.

Bishop Spalding's change of position, from recommending a "High-School of Philosophy and Theology" and his assertion "I am not speaking of a university," made in 1881, to his demand for "the creation of a real university" made in 1884, is well analyzed (p. 78, p. 101). So too are the terms of the gift made by Miss Caldwell. The difficulties experienced by Cardinal Gibbons in getting Miss Caldwell to make the money actually available are well traced, as is also the bitter controversy over the location of the proposed university. Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati and Bishop Gilmore of Cleveland were emphatic in their opposition to Washington as the site of the institution (pp. 134-135). Bishop McQuaid of Rochester, a consistent opponent of the university, likewise argued against Washington (pp. 142-143).

Regardless of these obstacles, and despite the unwillingness of Bishop Spalding to accept the rectorship of the university, the movement progressed, once Bishop Keane had agreed to accept the task of launching the institution (p. 176). Subsequently Keane and Ireland, in 1886 and 1887, did yeoman service in Rome in furthering the cause of the university. It was perhaps the latter who saved the project from ruin, since Cardinal Gibbons became very discouraged at the opposition emanating from Archbishop Corrigan of New York (p. 223). Corrigan severed his merely nominal connection with the University Board (p. 262), but later returned (p. 322). Bishop Keane collected his faculty, mostly Europeans; the cornerstone was laid on May 24, 1888 (p. 291); on November 13, 1889, the Catholic University of America opened its doors (p. 383).

In order to make the work the definitive one that it unquestionably is, the author utilized such deposits of primary source material as the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, the New York Archdiocesan Archives, the archives of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, and those of the dioceses of Rochester and Richmond. The Catholic and secular newspapers of the period were studied; much use was made, likewise, of the abundant periodical literature which related to the undertaking. No one will need to do again what has been done by Father Ellis; the research has been thorough, the evaluations fair to all concerned, and the results very interestingly presented. It is a distinct

credit to the American Catholic Historical Association, which sponsored the publication.

PAUL KINIERY

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The Process of Persuasion. By Clyde R. Miller. New York: Crown Publishers, 1946. Pp. viii+234. \$2.00.

Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion. A Comprehensive Reference Guide. By Bruce Lannes Smith, Harold D. Lasswell, and Ralph D. Casey. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946. Pp. vii+435. \$5.00.

The Process of Persuasion is intended to be a layman's introduction into the art of influencing human behavior by propaganda and advertising. The first eight chapters are devoted to a discussion of the psycho-social process of attitude development and opinion formation. The last six chapters describe in detail the methods of persuasion.

If Miller were merely content to disclose the tricks and techniques of the "persuader," this book would be a useful manual for the man in the street. But the good effect of Miller's entertaining and instructive analysis of the "devices of persuasion," is almost vitiated by his introduction of conditioned reflexes to explain persuasion and behavior. If, as Miller insists, human behavior is the product of creative and passive reflexes (and to a great extent it is), then all he can do is wish that the "conditioned" behavior of men turns out for their good and not for their destruction. And wish he does. In the closing sentences of the book we find Miller saying that we must "pick and choose, evaluate and appraise the persuasions directed at us and that we direct at others, to — *let us hope* — everybody's mutual benefit." [Italics mine.] Miller may not realize it, but in addition to exposing the propagandist, he is also preaching a philosophy of frustration and despair.

The Smith, Lasswell, and Casey book is meant for specialists in public opinion and is divided into two parts. One section on the "science of mass communication" contains four good, almost brilliant, chapters: "Communication Channels," "The Political Communication Specialist of Our Times," "Describing the Contents of Communications," and "Describing the Effects of Communications." The second section contains a bibliography of 2558 titles whose purpose is "to show in detail where most of the scientific information [on "deliberate propaganda"] can be found, who its authors are and (so far as space permits) what questions it has sought to answer."

The annotated bibliography, large and comprehensive, should delight the student of propaganda and mass communication. But it has many serious defects of balance and bias. There are two references to biographies of John L. Lewis, but none to William Green or Philip Murray. In a large section devoted to the role of

movies in opinion formation, Mortimer Adler's classic, *Art and Prudence*, isn't mentioned. While the Workers' Education Bureau is noted, the American Labor Education Service is omitted. While there are pages of references to the Communist, Socialist, and Fascist movements of Europe, there is not a single reference to the Christian Democratic groups on the European continent. These are some of the biases in the bibliography. For further examples the reader is referred to Norbert Muhlen's documented review of this book in a recent issue of *The New Leader*.

The book is recommended to those many Catholic sociologists who have been slow in appreciating the importance of mass communication in the twentieth century.

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For This We Fought. By Stuart Chase. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1946. Pp. 123. \$1.00.

This is the fifth and final of a series of small volumes dedicated to problems "When the war ends." Mr. Chase has brought to these publications the great lucidity that we expect of him. His is indeed the art of simplification of complex economic and social problems. However, in reading this particular contribution the question arises whether he has not gone too far. Popular appeal is lacking, for in the process of "writing down" the perspective has been narrowed and everything seems flat. The general thesis of the present volume is that somehow it should be possible to reproduce the "five year miracle" of war production in a peace-time setting. Chase discusses the familiar "models" for such an attempt, and advocates a middle road between automatic free competition and the authoritarian state by sponsoring the "mixed system with direction" in order to bring about full employment.

This reviewer is, however, puzzled by the title of this book. A great part of it is dedicated to what the veterans want in terms of jobs and protection. But obviously this country did not go to war in order to provide assistance for veterans who, without this war, would never have been veterans in the first place. Nor did it enter the world conflict to make sure that we will be able to adopt Mr. Chase's Model B for postwar full employment. It is pathetic to see how little understanding there is of why this "country was drawn into the Second World War." If we were to believe Mr. Chase, all that was at stake in that conflict was the continuation of the New Deal. Although I am a firm believer in the absolute necessity of full employment in peace time I think it is absurd to say that it is "for this we fought."

FRIEDRICH BAERWALD

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Hitler's Professors. By Max Weinreich. New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute — Yivo. Pp. 291. Paper: \$3; Cloth: \$3.50.

The manifold aspects of the defunct Nazi system should continue to be the object of systematic sociological research for years to come. For National Socialism, unlike its forerunner and survivor, Communism, which is operating in a technically retarded non-European country, is an ominous case of a totalitarianism able to command the most advanced scientific and technical skills of a modern Western society. In this connection Professor Weinreich's study can be considered a valuable compilation of facts. We learn from him that the Nazis organized no less than five richly equipped "research" institutes to deal with various aspects of the Jewish question. They used all the paraphernalia of contemporary scientific routines such as reference libraries, special committees of experts, periodical publications and conventions.

But the whole topic of the role of scholars in a totalitarian regime needs a much more scientific treatment than has been given by Professor Weinreich. It could make an interesting case study of the newly developing "Sociology of Science and Knowledge." If Weinreich had applied the methods of this branch of sociology he would have stressed first of all that racist doctrines were imported into Germany through the writings of Gobineau and H. S. Chamberlain. In his treatment of geopolitics he would have stated that the founder of this science was an Englishman, McKinder. This would have established the proper setting for his study of the special aspects of Nazism with regard to science in general and the Jewish question in particular. It would have emphasized the really terrifying aspect of the Nazi treatment of this age-old problem: It is the translation of popular prejudices and social tensions which we find in many parts of the world, also in these post-World War II days, into a pseudo-scientific system called "race knowledge" and into a technologically advanced method of ruthless and inexcusable mass extermination. However Weinreich's black-and-white technique of indiscriminate indictments, especially the lumping together of academic scholars and Nazi Party agitators in the misleading catch-all category of "Hitler's Professors" tends to distract rather than to focus our attention on these vital points. This is to be regretted in view of the ethical and practical issues involved in the Jewish question which our present age seems incapable of solving rationally and decently.

FRIEDRICH BAERWALD

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An International Convention Against Antisemitism. By Mark Vishniak. New York: Research Institute of the Jewish Labor Committee, 1946. Pp. viii+136. \$2.50.

Antisemitism has stalked through almost the entire known history of the world, irrespective of logic, or morals, or time and space. It has crossed all frontiers, oceans and continents, infecting all people,

penetrating all faith, languages, cultures, poisoning every environment. Antisemitism existed in the ancient world and in the Middle Ages; under Pharaohs and under Popes; in the age of handicraft and, to-day, in the atomic age. Antisemitism appealed to pagans, Christians and Mohammedans; to the white and colored races; to Semites (Arabs) and non-Semites; to peoples speaking Aryan and non-Aryan languages.

What can be done about the problem? All freedom-loving people will agree that a struggle against antisemitism is desirable, and a majority will probably agree that its outlawing is also desirable. But is a fight against antisemitism — on a national and international scale — by statutory means possible?

Much of the present study is devoted to the controversial question of group defamation vs free speech as expounded in Roman codes and papal bulls, in legislation against and in favor of Jews, in local, state and national statutes. Dr. Vishniak concludes that since defamation is inter-continental, the struggle against antisemitism must of necessity be likewise inter-continental. He points to the necessity of international measures for coping with the pernicious opium traffic, the traffic in women and obscene literature, and urges the calling of an international conference against the defamation of minority groups, and especially against antisemitism, which might be empowered to work out a satisfactory Convention for international ratification. Dr. Vishniak is correct in saying that an international statute alone will not put a stop to defamation and discrimination against Jews. Yet the struggle against antisemitism should and must continue. "To relinquish the struggle now, in the hope of a happy and joyous order in the distant future, would be capitulation before the defamers and antisemites."

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SHORT NOTICES

Sociology and Social Problems in Nursing Service. 2nd rev. ed. By Gladys Sellews and Paul H. Furfey. Philadelphia, Pa.: W. B. Saunders Co., 1946. Pp. xv+379. \$2.75.

This second and greatly revised edition of Miss Sellew's introductory text seems to be for general rather than specific Catholic use, for very few Catholic references occur. Nevertheless Catholic Schools of Nursing will undoubtedly find it worth a careful examination. The book is written in an interesting manner and covers a wide field. The pictures, charts, and general typography are excellent, and there is a small outline for teachers with suggested true-false questions and their answers. The chief criticism to be made is that nowhere does a discussion of sociology and its method occur, except in the glossary; and the planning seems to have been somewhat hurried for the chapters vary in length from 2 to 58 pages.

Social Pathology. 3rd rev. ed. By John Lewis Gillin. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. Pp. viii+645. \$4.50.

In revising this well-known text book, Gillin has brought his statistics up to 1940 and has done considerable re-writing. Although he lacks the positive Catholic approach to problems, only one or two statements would be challenged by Catholics and these are chiefly confined to the chapter on religion, e.g., his definition of religion. The range of topics is particularly comprehensive. The book merits examination for possible textbook use, and it certainly will be needed as a reference in all sociology libraries.

A Study of Rural Society. Third Edition. By J. H. Kolb and E. de S. Brunner. Boston, Mass.; Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946. Pp. xii+717. \$4.50.

This well-known text has been reorganized and brought up-to-date; with new material added. In its present form it is extremely attractive and comprehensive as a factual analysis of rural life and organization in the United States. It is well-worth consideration as a text in rural sociology. In the eyes of this reviewer, the chief flaw is the lack of use of sociological terms, and reference to sociological theories. Their integration with the text would have helped students to increase their professional outlook. The work of the National Rural Life Conference, and of the Distributists is missing, and the bibliography of "Rural Life in Foreign Lands" is also incomplete. Despite these omissions, one may say without qualification that they are out-weighed by the merits of the book, and can easily be supplied by the instructor.

Program of Action I. Loveland, Ohio: Grailville, 1946. Pp. 123. \$2.50.

Grailville is the center in America of the Grail Catholic youth group of Holland, and for several years now has been engaged in conducting training courses for young women in rural Catholic Action. (It has no connection with the Grail monthly and other publications of St. Meinrad's Abbey, Indiana). The Grail's English branch has long been noted for its own monthly magazine, the excellent booklet by Msgr. John G. Vance on *Leadership for Women* (London, 1943), and simplified versions of the encyclicals which have already been reprinted at Grailville in this country. The present mimeo-printed booklet is Grailville's first major original publishing endeavor, and because of the relative lack of material on techniques on Catholic Action it will be welcomed. The first section on "creating an understanding of the need of the lay apostolate" advises the familiar Jociste technique. Most of the suggested investigations are covered in good college courses in church history, sociology and economics, and often in high school sociology courses too, but here they all admirably point to zeal for the apostolate. The second

section of some twenty pages on "the nature and the scope of the lay apostolate" and the first six pages of the appendix are by far the best parts of the book. It is somewhat surprising, however, to find no mention of the Catholic Action Dept. of the N.C.W.C., or the National Commission on Catholic Action Study of the N.C.W.C.'s Youth Department. Reference to the ACSR is also lacking. At the end, three articles by laymen are given, one by ACSS member Emerson Hynes. The publication of Part II is promised for the near future under the title: *A Program of Integration*.

The Psychology of Adolescence. 3rd edition. By K. C. Garrison. New York: Prentice Hall, 1946. Pp. xx+355. \$4.65.

Long a favorite textbook in the field, this uptodate revision will be welcomed by college teachers of the subject. Unusual insight is shown for the adolescent, and the wide range of topics covered is presented in very interesting fashion. Although many of our Catholic college teachers will prefer a frankly Catholic text, this work certainly ought to be available for student reference, and it merits examination for use as a basic text.

Problèmes Sociaux Actuels. By Robert Kothen. Bruges, Belgium: Desclée de Brouwer, 1946. Pp. 173. Belgian francs 35.—

Father Kothen is well known in his native Belgium as the assistant director of the Jociste movement from 1928 to 1941, and as lecturer at four Catholic schools of social work in Belgium as well as to conferences of priests and lay-people. The long list of books and pamphlets which he has published since 1944 are evidence of his keen mind and his interest in the social problems and theories of today. Many of these works are of popular type; others are lecture notes which he has given to his social work classes. All of them merit purchase by Catholic sociologists and others interested in the social problems of the times. Written in popular style, the chief problem discussed in *Problèmes Sociaux Actuels* are capitalism, the propertyless working classes, the right to property ownership, the nationalization of property, social security, philosophical and social pluralism. The papal directives toward solution of these problems are indicated throughout.

Among the other works of Father Kothen, which may be secured through the Newman Bookshop, Westminster, Maryland, are the following:

La Pensée et l'action sociales des catholiques 1789-1944. Louvain, Belgium: Em. Warny, 1945. Pp. 600. Belgian francs 200.—

L'Eglise et les Mouvements de Population. Brussels, Belgium: Editions Universitaires. 1945. Pp. 124. Belgian francs 35.—

Le Socialisme. Louvain, Belgium: Em Warny, 1946. Pp. 288. Belgian francs 80.—

Les Ecoles Sociologiques. Louvain, Belgium: Em. Warny, 1944. Pp. 180. Belgian francs 50.—

Les Graces d'Etat. Brussels, Belgium: Editions Universitaires, 1944.

Les Theories économiques contemporaines. Louvain, Belgium: Em. Warny, 1944. Pp. 210. Belgian francs 50.—

Principes d'Education Populaire. Gembloux, Belgium: Editions Duculot. Pp. 231. Belgian francs 50.—

Vers une mystique familiale. Louvain, Belgium: Em. Warny, 1944. Pp. 240. Belgian francs 50.—

Morals in Politics and Professions. By Francis J. Connell, C.S.S.R., Westminster, Md.: The Newman Bookshop, 1946. Pp. vii+187. \$2.50.

Father Connell has here provided a plain-speaking and very practical guide for the moral conduct of politicians, legislators, judges, members of the armed forces and the police forces; lawyers, doctors, nurses, public school teachers, social workers, and all others connected with public office. It seems a pity that chapter or two did not extend the work to cover the private citizen in his social dealings with others, e.g., that the author's discussion of the obligation of those in public office to pay taxes of how many Catholics neglect their obligations of justice in social relations, and the serious harm which their bad example does to the extension of the Church, will welcome this excellent book, which has long been needed and is now presented with such admirable restraint, insight, and clarity.

PERIODICAL REVIEWS

C. J. NUESSE, *Editor*

The Catholic University of America
Washington 17, D. C.

Recent articles with special pertinence for Catholic sociologists

Maritain, Jacques, "The Person and the Common Good," *The Review of Politics*, 8(4):419-55. October 1946.

Maritain seeks in this article to clarify his position on the distinction between the two metaphysical aspects of the human being, individuality and personality. Individuality, with its first ontological roots in matter, "being that which excludes from oneself all that other men are, could be described as the narrowness of the ego, forever threatened and forever eager to *grasp for itself*" (p. 431). Personality, "the subsistence of the spiritual soul communicated to the human composite" (pp. 432-33), is the aspect in which man exists in self-possession, a universe unto himself, though — rather, therefore — requiring communication in the orders of knowledge and love and direct relation to the absolute.

Since the person, both because of his perfections and because of his needs, lives in society with others, there is implied the concept of the common good. This is neither a mere collection of individual goods nor, as in the beehive, a public good which sacrifices individuals to itself. "It is the good *human* life of the multitude, of a multitude of persons; it is their communion in good living. It is therefore common to

both *the whole and the parts* into which it flows back and which, in turn, must benefit from it" (p. 437). The person enters into society, but as an individual constitutes only a part whose proper good is inferior to the good of the whole. The good of the whole, however, must flow back upon persons and so "society is a whole composed of wholes" (p. 440). Even when the common good requires of men as individuals the sacrifice of activities nobler than those of the body politic or the sacrifice of life itself, the person acting freely is still served "because the soul of man is immortal and because the sacrifice gives grace one more chance" (p. 444). The human person's direct ordination to God as its ultimate end transcends every created common good. Thus, the true conception of political life is both personalist and communal. Persons as individuals are bound to serve the community, but serving it freely transcend themselves and the community in their movement toward the Uncreated Society of the Divine Persons.

Summarization cannot convey the subtleties and profundities of Maritain's thought which on this subject especially has direct pertinence for sociologists. The article should be read, however, with the realization that this distinction between persons

and individual is considered by various scholastic philosophers to be either misleading or superfluous in view of other possible solutions to the problem of the person and the common good (see the files of *The Modern Schoolman* or *The New Scholasticism*, among other sources, for relevant discussions).

Meng, John J., "Cahenslyism: The Second Chapter, 1891-1910," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 32 (3):302-40. October 1946.

Personal animosities among bishops almost overshadow the ecclesiastical issues which provoked them in the amazing story of "Cahenslyism." In this and a previous article (*ibid.*, 31(4):389-413; reviewed here in October), the movement is outlined without partisanship and materials are indicated which must be studied before a definitive account can be undertaken. Of particular merit historically is the emphasis upon the connection between "foreignism" as an ecclesiastical issue and the "school question" introduced by Archbishop Ireland's experiments in Minnesota. There are revealing glimpses of ecclesiastical ambitions and maneuvers in the United States, of suspicions of Roman intentions or fears of public reaction against papal representatives, of the weight attached to opinions of governmental officials by Vatican dignitaries or immigrant clerics in this country, and, throughout, revelation of the cleavage between those in the American hierarchy — Gibbons, Ireland, Keane, Spalding, and their followers — who were willing to try new techniques of action apparently adapted to American conditions, and their conservative opponents — Corrigan, McQuaid, Katzer, and others — who feared that faith might be endangered if traditional procedures were altered. This is not only a story of contravention, but of a search toward accommodations, and its great-

est significance for social history undoubtedly lies in its revelation of aspects of the assimilative process.

Purcell, Richard J., "John A Ryan: Prophet of Social Justice," *Studies*, 35(138):153-74. June 1946.

This biographical sketch chronicles with balanced emphasis the events in Monsignor Ryan's full life, especially those linking him to the framing of social legislation and the numerous reform movements which merited his support. By juxtaposing these with contemporaneous ecclesiastical and political affairs — and with the aid of some aptly turned phrases — the author has suggested the depth of his subject's convictions, and the frankness, courage, and liberal temper with which he freely expressed them.

Timasheff, N. S., "The Sociological Theories of the French Institutionalists," *Thought*, 21(82):493-512. September 1946.

Since the middle Twenties there has developed in France an institutional school of social thought, primarily concerned with jurisprudence, specifically with the problem of corporate personality. Maurice Hauriou, Catholic legal philosopher, is regarded as the founder of the school; other "masters" treated briefly are J. T. Delos and George Renard, both Dominicans, A. Desquérat, a Jesuit, and René Clémens, a Belgian layman. Differing in method, in the use of terms, and in conclusions on various problems, the orientation of the group is nevertheless definitely in Catholic philosophical tradition, mainly in Thomism. All agree in asserting the reality of the social group as a real union of relation between social agents, while rejecting group mind theories or organismic analogies. An organizing or directive idea,

manifested in action, is taken as the observable fact which unites a number of individuals in a group, though Renard, for example, links the members to each other through the whole, while Delos links them through objects. It is not always clear, however, whether theorists of this school are dealing with social groups or with "institution-persons" (Hauriou's term). Timasheff finds their contributions useful in understanding associations but not communities or other groups characterized by more or less irrational "direct relations," seeming with this term to oversimplify, since the latter groups, while involving relations of a distinct type, must still be defined as social groups constructed and maintained by agents who are related through some differentiating value. Obviously this article is significant for those interested in the history of social thought and sociological theory, and in the special fields of social institutions, social groups, and social relations.

"A Study of the Roman Catholic Press in America," *Information Service* (Weekly publication of the Department of Research of and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.), 25(5):1-8. June 22, 1946.

This study analyzes sixteen Catholic publications for the months of July-August 1945. Publications analyzed fall into three categories: diocesan publications (Boston *Pilot*, Brooklyn *Tablet*, New York *Catholic News*, Michigan *Catholic*, Chicago *New World*, St. Louis *Register*, New Orleans *Catholic Action of the South*, Texas, *Southern Messenger*, San Francisco *Monitor*, and the Atlanta *Bulletin*), national publications (Columbia, *Extension*, *Catholic Action*, and *Our Sunday Visitor*), and "magazines of much

smaller circulation than the others but their discussions of current affairs have wide influence" (*America* and *Commonweal*).

Most of the article is devoted to an objective analysis of the contents of the diocesan press. Some of the comments are: "there was less... [on the Church and social problems] than Protestants would have expected.... Only three of the newspapers surveyed (*Michigan Catholic*, *Catholic Action of the South*) averaged two percent or more of reading space to such problems [race, labor and peace]," while "all these papers are greatly concerned about Russia and Communism."

In one issue the Brooklyn *Tablet* gave thirteen percent of its total reading space to the subject. "But little space for the most part was devoted to questions of race relations or news about Negroes.... Only three of the papers gave as much as one percent of total space in any one issue; six averaged barely a tenth of one percent per issue."

The article quotes from a study made by Erwin Niederberger (*America*, March 23, 1946) for the week of January 21-27, 1946, the first week of the steel strike. Of the forty-seven diocesan papers surveyed, he wrote "Only three dared to support the cause of the steelworkers in their editorial. And additional six went so far as to refer editorially to the labor situation, and of these, two took the familiar line of admonishing both sides to be careful, while one actually recommended compulsory arbitration. But thirty-five, or three-fourths of them, were content to ignore this national crisis."

"As an anti-climax," Mr. Niederberger notes that there was no such reticence in regard to Communism. Twelve went to town editorially on Communism and/or Russian policies...." (EDWARD MARCINIAK, *Loyola University, Chicago 11, Ill.*)

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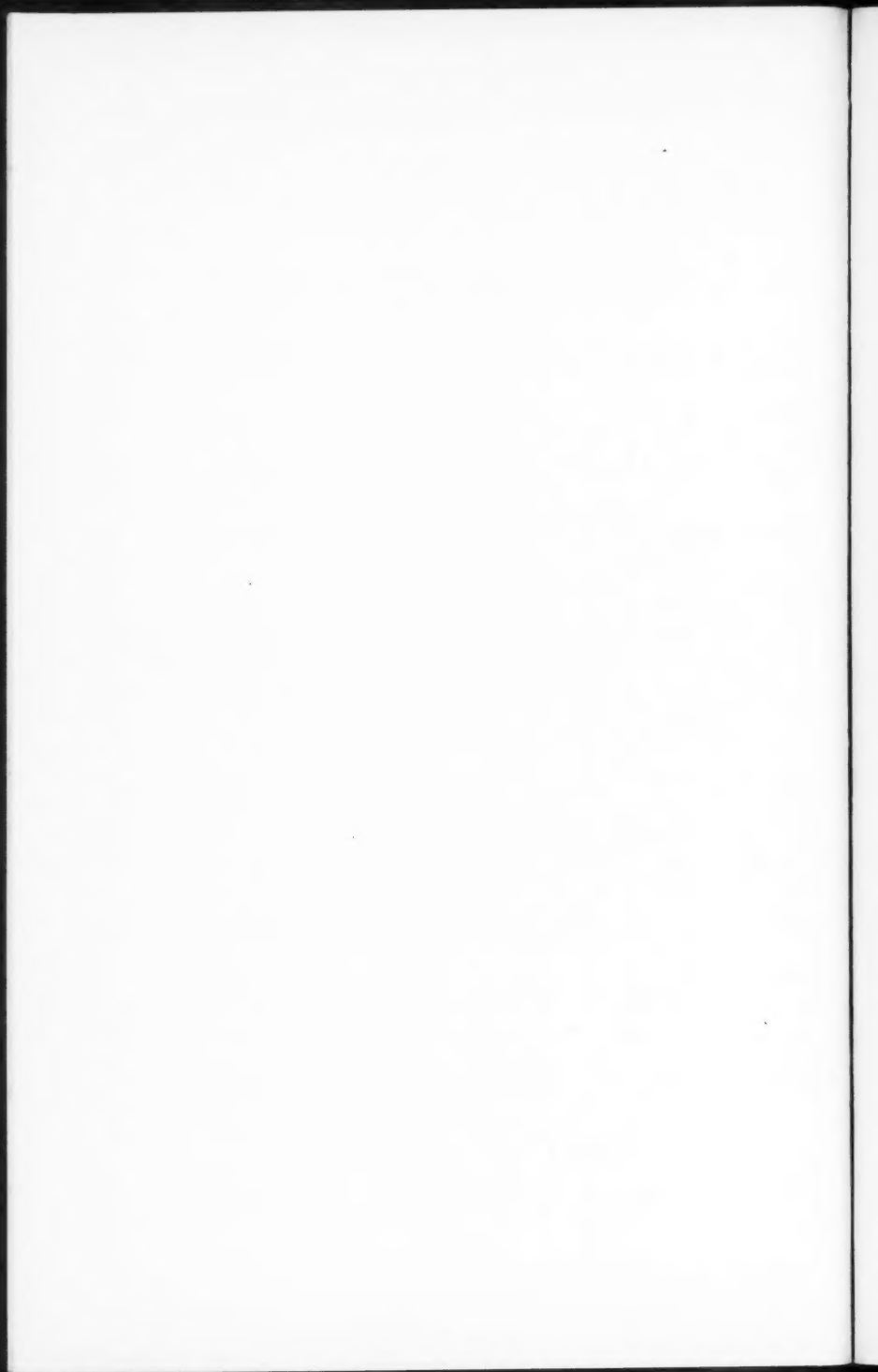
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